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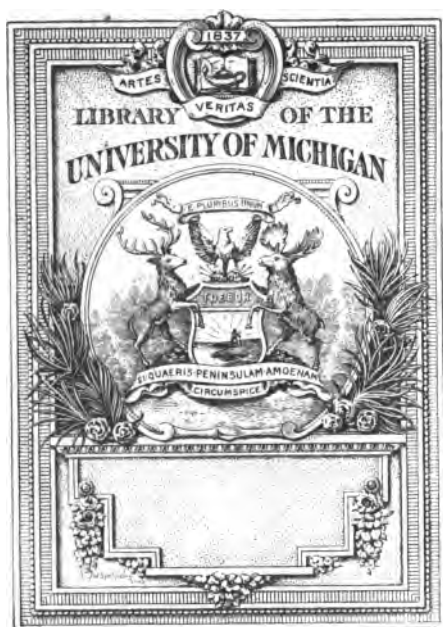
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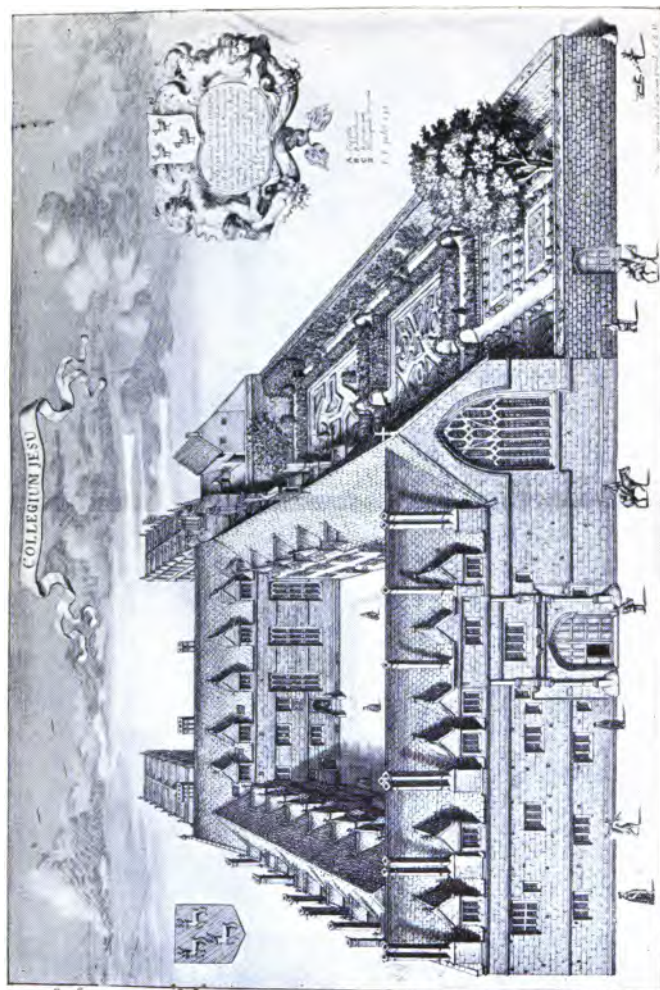
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**COLLEGE
HISTORIES
OXFORD**

JESUS COLLEGE





VIEW BY LOGGAN (1675)

University of Oxford

COLLEGE HISTORIES

BY

E. G. HARDY, M.A.

VICE-PRINCIPAL AND ASSISTANT TUTOR OF BALLIOL COLLEGE

LONDON

F. E. ROBINSON AND CO.

20 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY

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PREFACE

It was with a good deal of hesitation that I undertook to write this little book, when the lamented death of Canon Llewelyn Thomas deprived the College of its most appropriate historian. At the outset I was in almost entire ignorance of the past history of the College, and if Canon Thomas had got together any material, it has not been my good fortune to have the opportunity of using it. In my own production I am very sensible of the many shortcomings, and I must throw myself upon the indulgence of the College to excuse them, pleading first the not inconsiderable pressure of other work, and latterly a special disability which has unfortunately compelled me to leave the last few chapters much more incomplete and superficial than I had hoped to make them.

The biographical portion of the work will, I fear, be found especially unsatisfactory. It was impossible to devote more than a comparatively small space to this side of the history, and admirers of Welsh literature will probably be entirely discontented at the meagre notices which they will find of such names as Sir William Vaughan, Henry Vaughan the Silurist, Goronwy Owen, and many others. For this portion of the work I am, of course, indebted mainly to the "Dictionary of National Biography" and to Williams's "Eminent Welshmen." Mr. D. Llauffer Thomas was good enough to place at my disposal

many MS. notes on some of the early members of the College, especially the first few Principals, and to them I have, in many cases, been most indebted.

The general history of the College has been gathered almost entirely from the various documents in the Muniment Room, the most important of which are mentioned in their proper places in the text. I have also made some use of documents contained in the Wynne MSS. in All Souls' College Library, which, however, are so voluminous and so imperfectly catalogued that quite possibly a good deal more might have been gathered from them by a more thorough examination.

I must express my thanks to the Principal, who has been good enough to look through all the proofs and to correct the spelling of many Welsh names. He is, however, in no way responsible for whatever errors may be found, because I have sometimes retained the spelling of the early account books and Registers, even where it is not philologically correct. I am also greatly indebted to Mr. Hawke Hughes for reading the whole book and for making many valuable suggestions.

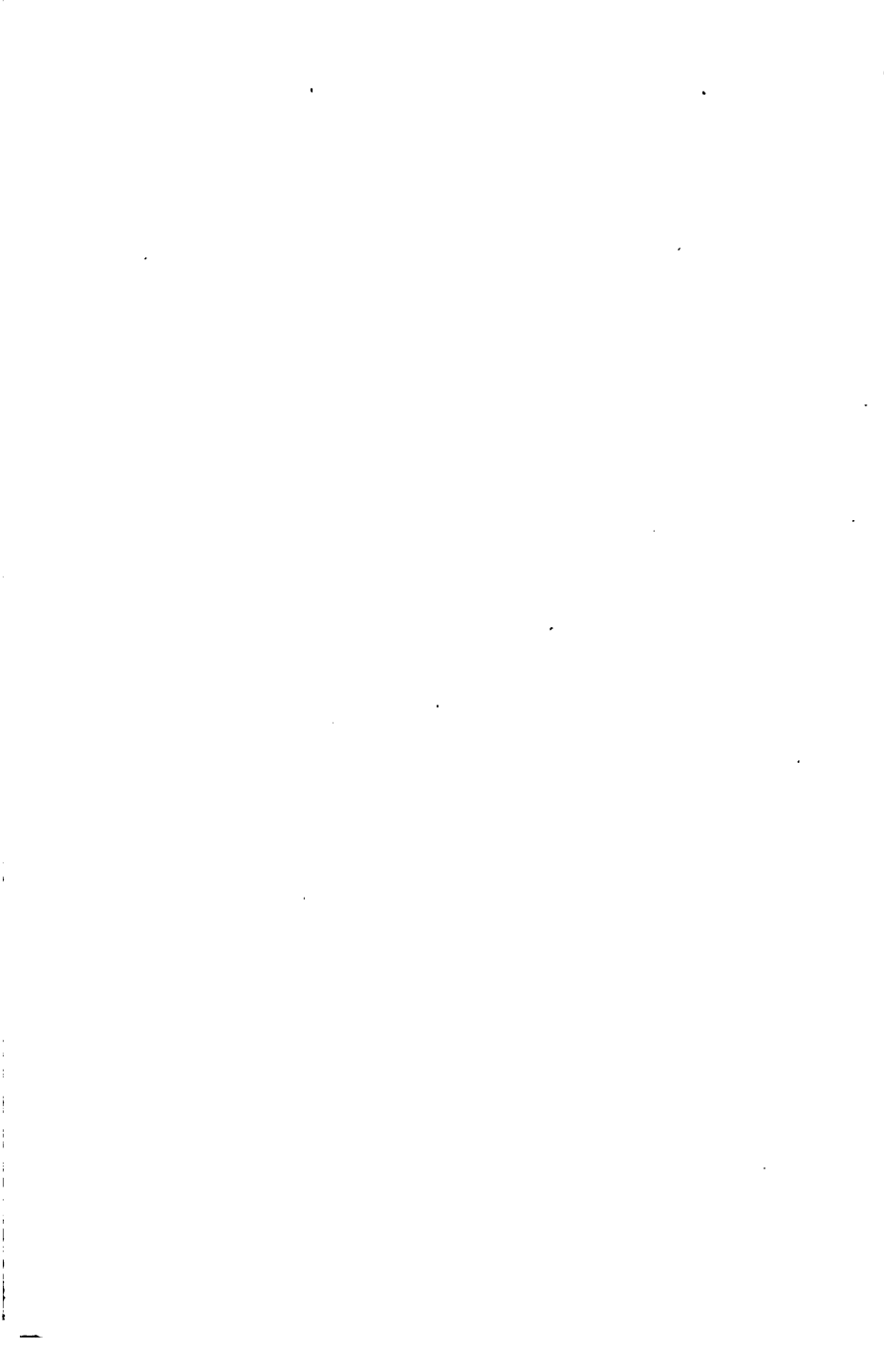
I fear I have greatly taxed the patience of Mr. Robinson by the many delays, unavoidable as they were, in completing the book.

E. G. HARDY.

October 5, 1899

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ILLUSTRATIONS

I.—(FRONTISPIECE.)

Loggan's view representing the College as it was in 1670, the Outer Quadrangle being complete, and the Thoroughfare then as now leading through to the Inner Quadrangle. This however is unfinished, the Library on the west side not being built till after 1680. When Sir Eubule Thelwall's Library was taken down by Dr. Mansell, the books were kept in the chamber over the Kitchen and Buttery in the rooms now occupied by Mr. Hughes. The present ogee-shaped battlements in the Inner Quadrangle may be made out in the print. The gabled windows in the second storey of the Old Quadrangle give the College a far more picturesque appearance than it has at present. The *Oxford Almanack* for 1740 has another view of the College with the west side completed, and the Library with its fine south window. At this time the ogee-shaped battlements were on the outside as well as the inside of the Inner Quadrangle, each exterior and interior battlement being connected by a sloping roof. Early in this century this was changed, and a continuous roof substituted, as shown in No. IV.

II.—p. 38.

The Interior of the Dining Hall, showing the High Table at the top, the Scholars' Table on the right, and fire-place surmounted by a bust of Queen Elizabeth on the left. In the large recess at the left of the dais is a fine bay window with ten lights as shown in No. IV. The small coats of arms on the fine oak wainscot are a poor modern substitute for the arms in painted glass which used to form a part of the windows. On the end wall may be seen the portraits of Queen Elizabeth, Dr. Hugh Price, Sir Leoline Jenkins, and Bishop William Thomas (see p. 95). The present plaster ceiling, fine of its kind, was put up in the last century, concealing the fine timber roof above it.

III.—p. 66.

This shows the Hall and Principal's Lodgings from the east side of the Outer Quadrangle, the entrance to the Common-room staircase showing through the Thoroughfare. The Hall was built by Griffith Powell, 1613-1620; the Lodgings by Sir Eubule Thelwall after 1620. The ugly battlements at the top of the Hall, put up early in this century, compare very unfavourably with the gabled windows in Loggan's view. The battlements above the Lodgings which were substituted for the gabled windows before 1740 have been taken down. The round porch-head over the door was added between 1670 and 1740. Part of the Chapel door is seen at the extreme right with its motto "*Ascendat oratio descendat Gratia*." Before 1895 the Quadrangle was gravel, but in that year was laid out in four grass plots separated by paved paths. The clock was put up by Principal Foulkes in 1831.

IV.—p. 90.

This represents the Inner Quadrangle from the south-west corner, and shows the Dining Hall, part of the Lodgings and of the north side of the Quad. The two windows in the Lodgings are those of the present Drawing-room and Dining-room, the former being the Dining-room built by Sir Eubule Thelwall with the original wainscot, the latter below it being a new room formed some years ago out of the original kitchen. The new stonework in Staircase xiii. in the corner is where the fire took place in 1882. The ogee-shaped battlements have had to be renewed all round. Otherwise the Quadrangle is in its original state and is very picturesque, especially as of late years creepers have been encouraged.

V.—p. 114.

The interior of the Chapel was completely renovated in 1864. The original Jacobean woodwork and seats were ruthlessly torn up and sold for a mere song to a passing stranger. The chancel arch was considerably widened. There was originally space enough, as old engravings show, between the arch and side walls for the marble monuments of Sir Eubule Thelwall—a very fine one—and Dr. Mansell, which have now been relegated to the gloom of the chancel south wall. At the same time the east window was filled with stained glass, and the somewhat tawdry reredos erected. The

removal of the copy of Guido's picture of St. Michael from over the altar to the ante-chapel had the advantage of showing up the fine east window, which was made in 1636 when the Chapel was lengthened. The black and white marble steps are original, the slabs being mentioned in Dr. Mansell's Inventory of 1648. An exceedingly fine Jacobean screen separates the Chapel from the ante-chapel, which it is to be hoped the new organ at the present time being built by W. Binns of Leeds will not interfere with.

VI.—p. 140.

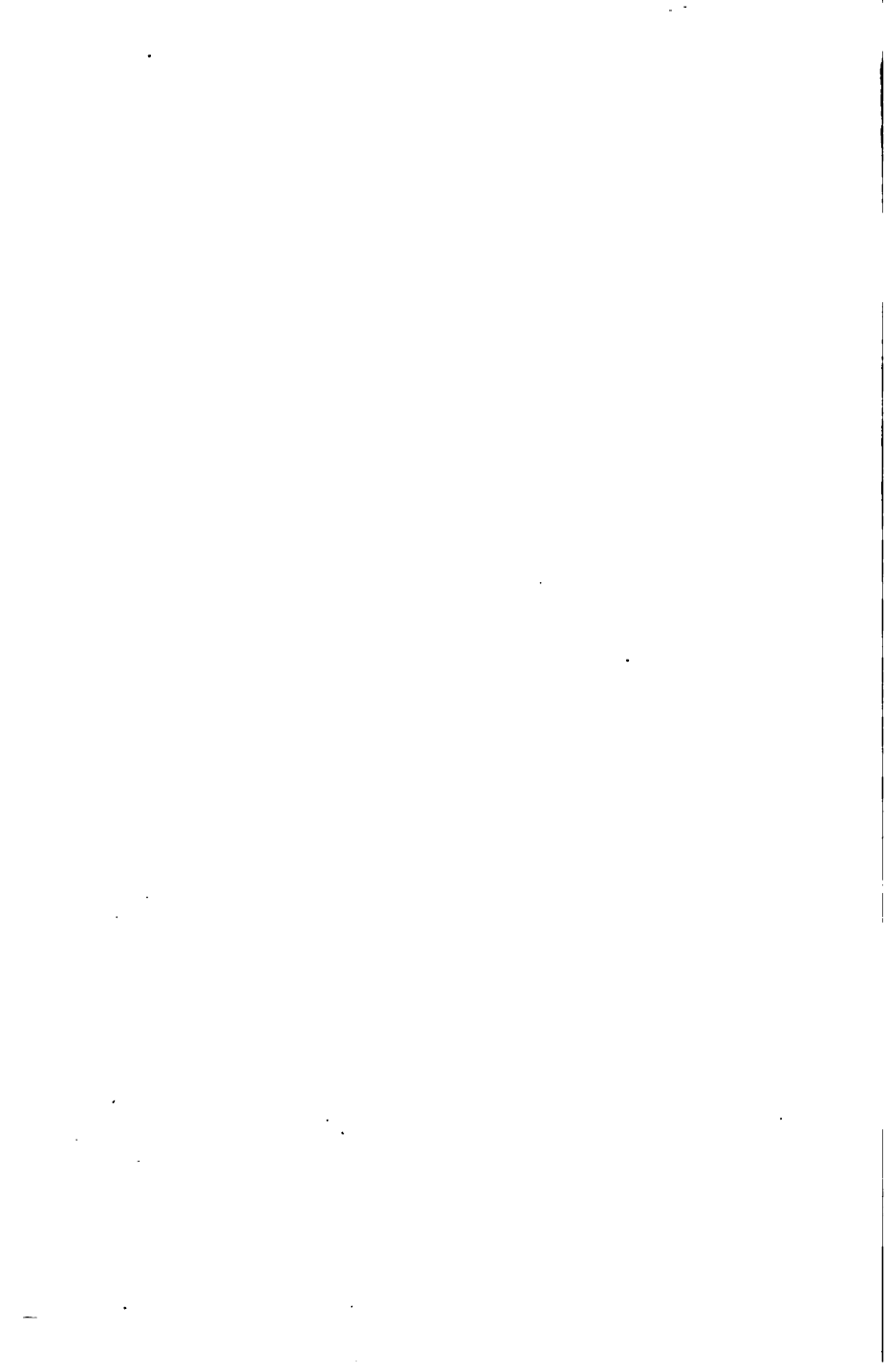
The Interior of Sir Leoline Jenkins' Library, taken from the large window looking out upon Market Street. If only it had an open timber roof instead of the plain ceiling, it would be one of the most picturesque College Libraries. It dates from about 1680.

VII.—p. 172.

The Senior Common-room or Bursary, as it always used to be called, was fitted up in its present state, ceiled and wainscoted in 1736. The illustration, taken from the door, shows the portrait of Queen Elizabeth dated 1590, over the mantelpiece, and that of Sir Leoline Jenkins on the right wall. The door in the corner leads into the Muniment-room. The chairs covered with red velvet have long been a feature of the room, and are similar to that in the picture of Sir Leoline.

VIII.—p. 212.

This shows the present exterior of the College from Lincoln. The south-east corner is the oldest part of the College, being that completed by Dr. Price himself; but the whole of the Turl Street front was re-faced in 1856; when the tower over the Gateway was built, the southern side having been re-faced in 1853.



CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE

§ 1. WELSH STUDENTS BEFORE THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE.

JESUS COLLEGE, from its first foundation and throughout its history up to the present time, has had a close and uninterrupted connection with the Principality of Wales, and therefore some brief reference to the few facts known as to the position of Welshmen in the University in the earlier period seems a fitting introduction to an account of what James Howell, within fifty years of its foundation, described as the "National College." That there were Welsh students in considerable numbers at Oxford in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is proved by various notices in the documents from which the earlier history of the University has to be extracted. At this period, however, only a few Colleges existed, and these Welsh Scholars, though naturally drawing together, were connected by ties quite different from those which, in the shape of common discipline, common tuition, and common traditions brought the members of a College in later times into an orderly and corporate life. The great majority of students lived in Halls or Hostels, and these, though naturally differing much in size and importance, and

though during these two centuries they passed through a certain development and approached nearer to the position of members in the University organism, yet always retained these two characteristics, that they were neither endowed nor in the legal sense corporate institutions. At first, indeed, they were little or nothing more than private houses rented by small and independent societies of students, who, more for their own domestic economy than for any other reason, chose one of their number to act as Principal. In the course of time, however, owing partly, no doubt, to the examples afforded by the early Colleges, the Halls came to provide not only common lodging and common meals, but, to a certain extent, common lectures and common tuition for their inmates. But as soon as the Halls began, even in a rudimentary way, to serve the common objects of a University life, their originally complete autonomy received some modification. The Principals, though elected by the students, came to be "admitted and approved" by the Chancellor and Masters of the University; they now had to be graduates; they were called to account if they neglected to provide tuition and to maintain discipline; restrictions were put upon the freedom of migrating from Hall to Hall, while the Halls themselves were so far recognised as integral portions of the University that in 1421 all Scholars were required to reside within some Hall; * and, finally, the appointment of the Principal was in almost all cases directly made by the Chancellor, although his nominee was still, as a matter of form, elected by the members of the Society.

* Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 466, foll.

It was in Halls of this character then that the Welsh Scholars who are from time to time mentioned must have resided. The times were factious and turbulent; fights and riots were of constant occurrence, and the students were in the first instance led to congregate in the Halls, not so much for any common interest in study as for the need of mutual defence and assistance. To say nothing of the standing jealousy between University and City, differences of nationality, of politics, and of religion split up the students themselves into numerous and often bitterly hostile factions. It was natural, therefore, that members of the same nationality should draw together, and act in common; and accordingly we find the Welsh students not only again and again combining in the riots and disturbances of the time, but also tending to live together in certain Halls.

To illustrate the first point, it will be enough to say that, in the fierce and often bloody contests between the North- and South-country clerks, the Welsh students regularly sided with the latter. In 1388, after a more than usually violent encounter, a number of Welshmen were banished from the city, and were set upon as they left the gates by a body of Northerners, who, shouting "Slay the Welsh dogs and their whelps," proceeded to break open and plunder several Halls where Welsh Scholars lodged. A few days later the tables were turned, and the Welshmen, reinforced by some Merton Scholars, in their turn drove their adversaries into their Halls.* In 1437 many Welsh clerks again fled from Oxford, though on this occasion we are glad to learn that those who remained behind were "honourable students,

* Maxwell Lyte, *History of the University of Oxford*, p. 308.

peaceful and quiet.”* On the occasion of Owen Glyndwr’s rising in 1401, the Welsh students repaired in a body to their native land, and so for a time relieved the University authorities of at least one element of disorder.†

With regard to the Halls at which Welshmen gathered, we have only a few vague and fragmentary notices collected by Wood. Stoke Hall, near St. Michael’s Church, was said to be inhabited by clerks “de Wallia” in 1306.‡ A similar statement is made about Trill-mill Hall, in Grandpont Street, at about the same time.§ In the same century Gloucester Hall, near St. Ebb’s, was inhabited by “clerks for the most part Welsh”; so, too, St. Mary Magdalen Hall, near the church of the same name, and Haberdashers’ Hall, near St. Mary’s Church, are spoken of in Henry VI.’s time as “replenished with Welsh Scholars.”|| Finally, St. Edward Hall, on part of the present site of Christ Church, contained for the most part legists of the Welsh nation.¶ In this last case we can to a certain extent verify the statement, since there is a list of Principals of the Hall between 1436 and 1537, among whom such names as Lloyd, Jones, Morgan, Evans, and Griffiths distinctly preponderate.** In this Hall, too, was educated Rowland Meyrick, Bishop of Bangor in 1559; while the Henry Morgan, who was Principal in 1537, was created Bishop of St. David’s in 1554.

As the collegiate system grew up, the Halls tended to disappear, their sites and buildings being secured by, and merged in, the new foundations. By Edward VI.’s

* Maxwell Lyte, *History of the University of Oxford*, p. 335.

† Lyte, p. 309. ‡ Wood, *City of Oxford* (ed. Clark), vol. i. p. 69.

§ *Ibid.* p. 300. || *Ibid.* p. 82. ¶ *Ibid.* p. 161. ** *Ibid.* p. 591.

reign only a few of the larger and more important were left, which, though still not technically collegiate institutions nor endowed, yet maintained their place side by side with the Colleges, now thirteen in number, as constituting the University. The grouping of students was now somewhat different; times were quieter, and national and local distinctions less pronounced. Not, of course, that they had entirely disappeared; indeed, many of the Colleges, notably Balliol, Lincoln, Exeter, and Queen's, had strong local connections, but these were tending to become exceptional, unless perpetuated by special benefactions. In place of them, or along with them, community of study began to draw men together to the same College or Hall, so that one would be known for its legists or civilians, another for its theologians.

What became of the Welsh students, as the Halls which they had frequented disappeared, is uncertain. Probably their number, like that of the students generally, considerably decreased in the earlier years of the Reformation. Whether for those that remained there was, after the dissolution of St. Edward Hall, which cannot long have survived the foundation of Christ Church in 1546, any specially Welsh Hall still existing, there is no evidence to show. At the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries considerable numbers of Welshmen are found at Christ Church, Oriel, Brasenose, Broadgate's Hall and Hart Hall, and we may conjecture that this may have also been the case at an earlier time.

With the reign of Elizabeth, however, the number of students, and doubtless of Welsh students among others, again increased. A great stimulus had been given to education by the foundation of Grammar Schools under

Edward VI., and the existing Colleges and Halls began to receive from them a constant supply of students. This was not less the case in Wales than in other parts. The latter part of the sixteenth century saw a number of Grammar Schools growing up both in North and South Wales. The school at Abergavenny, destined at a later time to be closely connected with the College, was founded in 1543: the College of Christ at Brecon was constituted in 1546, Bangor received its school in 1557, Carmarthen in 1576, Ruthin was founded in 1595. It appears, therefore, that towards the close of the sixteenth century there was, or was likely to be, a considerable access of Welsh students to Oxford, for whom, although there was a certain Welsh connection in several Colleges and Halls, there was at present no special benefaction.* It was presumably to meet this need that in 1571 Dr. Hugh Price, as Wood tells us, "after consultation had with his friends concerning the matter petitioned Queen Elizabeth that she would be pleased to found a College in Oxford that he might bestow his estate for the maintenance of certain scholars of Wales to be trained up in good letters."†

§ 2. THE FOUNDER AND THE SITE OF THE COLLEGE.

Of the previous history of the Founder not very much

* Wood (*Annals*, ii. p. 230) speaks of revivals of the old quarrels between North and South in 1587, and puts them down to the "troublesome Welsh," who, he says, had a strong footing in certain Colleges, Oriel in particular being "much troubled with them." All Souls was "almost subverted as to its government, they (being a majority) carrying all things at their pleasure." The Welsh at All Souls, however, were Fellows, were certainly not a majority, and could have had nothing to do with the disturbances.

† *Colleges and Halls*, p. 569.

is known. His proper name was Hugh Ap Rice or Ap Rees, and he was born about 1495 at Brecon, his father Rees Ap Rees being a butcher there and a man of considerable property. According to Wood he was "bred up at Oseney Abbey." In any case he was educated at Oxford, and after graduating as B.C.L. in 1512, became a Doctor of the Canon Law in 1526. In 1541 he was made the first Prebend of Rochester, and in 1571 he became Treasurer of St. David's. Beyond these scanty details we really have no information. The College possesses a small portrait of him attributed to Holbein, but more probably the work of one of Holbein's School, for it represents a man well advanced in years, and Holbein died in 1545.

It was not till he was seventy-six years old that Dr. Price, who was probably never married, decided to bestow his estate for the benefit of his native country. An inscription, originally placed on the north side of the College gateway, ran as follows :

*Breconiae natus patriae monumenta reliquit,
Breconiae populo signa sequenda pio.*

What his real wishes may have been with regard to the object of the College and the methods of its foundation we can only surmise. He very probably intended it especially for Welsh students, and from the wording of his Will he clearly wished to be known to posterity as "the Founder" of the College. Possibly, however, the Queen, when petitioned by Dr. Price to allow the incorporation and endowment of the College, may have made her own conditions. Certain it is that in the Letters Patent, bearing date June 27, 1571, the Queen herself

figures as the Foundress. The College is to be known as "Jesus College, within the City and University of Oxford, of Queen Elizabeth's Foundation." Dr. Price is only mentioned himself as the original Benefactor, as moved "*instinctu charitatis*" to grant lands and tenements to the clear value of £60 per annum "*in maximum Sociorum et Scholarium literis ibidem incumbentium solamen et incitamentum.*" Principal Griffith Powell indeed asserts, writing in 1613, that it was his own wish to appear as Benefactor rather than as Founder; but this, as we have seen, is hardly consistent with his Will, where he leaves his books to the College "conditionally that I remayn founder of the same College," nor with the original inscription which, as we know from a contemporary note, was under his portrait, "*Vera effigies Hugonis Pricaei Founderis Collegii Jesu Oxon.*" Still more surprising is the complete absence from the Letters Patent of any clause giving or implying a preference to Wales or Welsh students. Indeed, the Charter of Incorporation is so exceptionally free from any local or national restrictions, that we are forced to conclude either that Dr. Price did not intend to establish an especially Welsh College, or that for some reason the Queen objected to his design and insisted on the omission of all restricting conditions.

It has already been pointed out that the foundation of a new College usually involved the absorption or appropriation of whatever Halls stood upon the intended site. Dr. Price had already fixed upon the site of his College when he made his "humble petition" to the Queen, and we find it specified in the Letters Patent "*in fundo solo situ et procinctu nuper Aulae nostrae*

vulgariter nuncupatae White Hall"; while the Charter formally grants to the new College

"totam illam domum situm septum ambitum circuitum et procinctum dictae nuper Aulae vulgariter nuncupatae White Hall . . . cum omnibus et singulis suis juribus membris et pertinentiis universis et cum omnibus antiquis privilegiis, libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ejusdem Aulae."

The White Hall here referred to, into the site and privileges of which Jesus College was to step, was the largest and most important of a number of Halls which were situated on the ground which lay between Cheyney Lane—the modern Market Street—and Somnore's Lane, afterwards Jesus College Lane, and now Ship Street. It is described as "a large tenement with a great stone gate," and was situated at the eastern end of Cheyney Lane. It had formerly belonged to St. Frideswyde's Priory: its existence can be traced back to the thirteenth century. We have a complete list of the Principals of this Hall from 1436 to 1551,* and two lists of the students, one for the year 1527, when fifteen "Scholares Aulae Albae" went before the Vice-Chancellor to elect a new Principal,† and the other, apparently a complete list for the year 1552, containing twenty names.‡ The Hall is said to have been frequented by legists or civilians, a statement to a certain extent borne out by the fact that many of the Principals were graduates in either Canon or Civil Law.

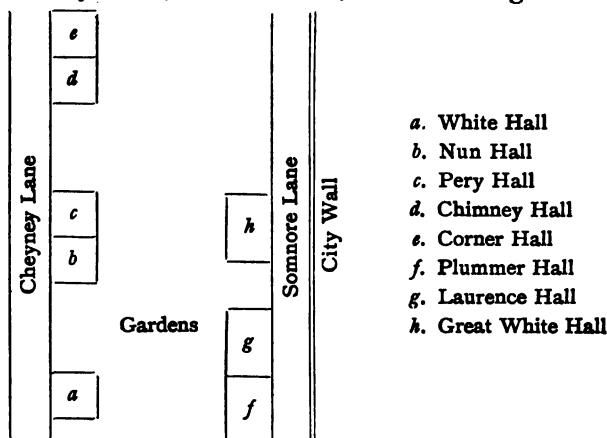
A little to the west of White Hall, which probably occupied the position of Staircases IV. and V., was Hawk

* Wood, *City of Oxford*, vol. i. p. 586.

† *Register of the University* (ed. Clark), vol. ii. part ii. p. 283.

‡ *Register of the University* (ed. Boase), vol. i. p. xxv.

Hall, then two small buildings called Nun Hall and Pery Hall,* whilst about the site of the present Library stood Corner Hall and Chimney Hall.† In Somnore's Lane or Ship Street there were also several Halls which stood back to back with those in Cheyney Lane, the intervening space being occupied by garden ground. At the eastern corner, where the large gate now leads into the Principal's garden, stood Plummer or Plummery Hall,‡ next to which, and embracing most of



the site of the College Chapel, was Laurence or Stapled Hall,§ which had belonged since the time of Edward IV. to Lincoln College, and for which a small quit-rent was paid to that Society up to 1812. Farther still to the west was another White Hall, sometimes called Aula Alba Magna to distinguish it from an Aula Alba Parva which was on the opposite side of Somnre Lane under the city wall.

* Wood, *City of Oxford*, vol. i. p. 74.

† *Ibid.* p. 73.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 68.

§ *Ibid.* p. 67.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE 11

Originally all these Halls were, of course, independent of one another, and each had its separate Principal. They were, however, all of them, it would seem, frequented by legists, and in the course of time the smaller ones either disappeared or became annexed to the more important. Thus Hawke Hall disappeared after about 1469. Pery Hall was under the same Principal as White Hall from 1507, and was finally deserted by its students in 1520. Similarly Plummer Hall disappeared after about 1505, while after 1529 we find that the two White Halls and Laurence Hall were united under the Principal of White Hall in Cheyney Lane, which at the time when Dr. Price was preparing to found his College was probably the only one of these Halls still inhabited by students, if, indeed, which is quite possible, it was not itself by this time deserted.

The site would therefore be not a difficult one to procure, and no doubt it was purchased with Dr. Price's money, and then generously bestowed upon the new College by its royal Foundress.

White Hall may, therefore, in a certain sense be described as the predecessor of Jesus College, but not in the same sense as the King's Hall was of Brasenose or Broadgate's Hall of Pembroke. The College succeeded to the site and buildings of the Hall, and to whatever rights and privileges were thereto attached, but of any actual continuity between the two in other respects there is no evidence whatever.

It has been too hastily assumed, and often stated as an ascertained fact, that White Hall was composed mainly of Welsh students. Such evidence as we possess is decidedly against this supposition. We have, as

already stated, a list of the Principals of the Hall between 1486 and 1551, and there are practically no Welsh names among them. Of the fifteen "Scholares Aulae Albae" who in 1547 elected Mr. John Man* to the Principalship, only one, Griffin Llowed, has a Welsh name. Of the twenty members of the Hall in 1552, not one is proved by his name to be Welsh. We must, therefore, reject the view that Dr. Price took over White Hall on the ground of its being a Welsh House. He more probably chose the site because, as the Halls upon it were completely or nearly deserted by students, it was easy to procure.

§ 3. THE FIRST LETTERS PATENT AND THE ORIGINAL FELLOWS.

It has often been remarked that Jesus was the first Protestant College established in Oxford. It is easy to exaggerate the importance of this fact, which indeed had no very direct influence on the position or future history of the College. Still the recent ecclesiastical changes were not ambiguously referred to in the opening phrases of the Charter, dated June 27, 1571, by which the College was incorporated. This document, after an allusion to the prosperity of the reign and the assistance received from on High, "*tum contra illicitas enormitates et nefarios abusos, tum contra hereticum malignas et pestiferas impietates,*" proceeds thus to lay down the end and object of the College :

"*ad summi et omnipotentis Dei gloriam et honorem, ad Christianae et sinceræ religionis amplificationem et stabilimentum, ad errorum et falsarum persuasionum extirpationem, ad augendum et continuandum pietatis cultum, ad*

* Afterwards Warden of Merton.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE 13

omnis generis bonarum literarum incrementa, ad linguarum cognitionem, ad juventutis in pietate et virtute ac disciplina et scientia educationem, ad pauperum et inopia afflictorum sublevationem, denique ad ecclesiae Christi, nostri regni ac subditorum nostrorum communem utilitatem, et felicitatem, . . . de gratia nostra speciali et ex certa scientia et mero motu nostro quoddam Collegium eruditionis scientiarum, philosophiae bonarum artium linguarum cognitionis Hebraicae Graecae et Latinae, ad finalem sacrae Theologiae professionem perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturum . . . creari erigi fundari et stabiliri decrevimus."

The College, which was to consist of a Principal, eight Fellows and eight Scholars, was to be known as "Jesus College within the city and University of Oxford of Queen Elizabeth's foundation." As a College, it was to have the usual corporate rights of holding, defending, acquiring and alienating property, and was to be incorporated in the University of Oxford, "ut pars, parcella et membrum ejusdem Universitatis." It was empowered to receive Dr. Price's bequest of property to the value of £60 a year, and also additional property from any other person or persons to the value of £100 per annum. Finally, eight Commissioners, including Dr. Price, Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of the University, and the Principal of the College were appointed, with full powers to draw up, by means of a majority of their number, a body of statutes for the good government of the Principal, Fellows and Scholars, and the various officials and servants of the College, for the regulation of their several functions and duties, the manner of their election, and the management and disposition of the College property.

By this Charter Jesus College came into existence in 1571, the Principal, the eight Fellows and the eight Scholars—whether on Dr. Price's recommendation or not, is uncertain—being nominated in the Letters Patent.

The first Principal was David Lewes, D.C.L., an eminent civilian, and since 1552 Judge of the High Court of Admiralty. He was about fifty at the time of his election, having been born at Abergavenny in 1520. His former career had been partly academical, partly judicial. A Fellow of his own College, All Souls, in 1541, he was Principal of New Inn Hall from 1545 to 1548. In the latter year he took his B.C.L., and was admitted at Doctors' Commons, becoming a Master of Chancery, and sitting for a short time as M.P. for Monmouthshire. His tenure of the Principalship was very short, since he resigned in 1572, no doubt preferring his judicial career to the task of presiding over a College which was at present practically without buildings and without endowment. That he continued, as one of the Commissioners, to take some interest in its affairs is perhaps shown by the fact that his signature is found as a witness to a deed of sale by which the original site was enlarged in 1580. He died in 1584, and was buried in Abergavenny Church, where an elaborate monument exists to his memory.

Of the original Fellows, Thomas Huycke, D.C.L., of Merton College, was Canon of St. David's in 1551, and Chancellor of the Diocese of London in 1561.

John Cotterell, D.C.L., at one time a Fellow of New College, had been Principal of White Hall and Laurence Hall from 1537 to 1552, and had since been Vicar of Adderbury and Rector of Everleigh.

In his case there seems to have been no Welsh connection.

John Lloyd, D.C.L., had been a Fellow of All Souls, and was Dean of St. Asaph in 1559, but, being deprived in the same year, became an advocate in 1566, and was subsequently a Judge of the Admiralty.

William Aubrey, D.C.L., belonging to a Brecknockshire family, was another distinguished civilian and Fellow of All Souls, who, after being Principal of New Inn Hall, became Professor of Civil Law in 1553. He was a Master in Chancery, Vicar-General to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and is said at one time to have been Ambassador in France.

Robert Lougher, D.C.L., an eminent civilian, like several of his colleagues a Fellow of All Souls, and at two different times Principal of New Inn Hall, was descended from an ancient Welsh family. At one time he had been Archdeacon of Totnes, but in 1571 he was Regius Professor of Civil Law, an appointment which he held till 1577.

Robert Johnson had apparently no Welsh connection, being born at Stamford in 1540. He must, however, have been well known to Dr. Price, having been a fellow prebend at Rochester. Originally a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, he was incorporated at Oxford in 1565. He was Archdeacon of Leicester, and from 1574 till his death in 1625, Rector of Luffenham. It was during this last period of his life that he founded the two schools of Uppingham and Oakham.

Thomas Huet, a native of Wales and a strong Protestant, had received from the Queen the living of Trefeglwys in Montgomeryshire, and was precentor of St. David's. He had been all but elected to the Bishopric of Bangor

in 1565, and had co-operated with Richard Davies, Bishop of St. David's, and W. Salesbury in translating the New Testament into Welsh.

Of John Higgenson, the eighth Fellow, I have been able to gain no information.

The eight original Scholars were Gregory Downhall, Lancelot Andrewes, John Wilton, Francis Yeomans, William Platt, Thomas Dove, John Ormonde, and William Garth. Of these, Lancelot Andrewes and Thomas Dove both belonged to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and their connection with Jesus College must have been merely nominal, though we find them still counted as Scholars of the College in 1621, when they were respectively Bishops of Winchester and Peterborough. Both continued, however, to reside at Cambridge, Andrewes being first Fellow and then Master of Pembroke, and Dove being appointed "*tanquam socius*." It is tempting to claim so distinguished an ecclesiastic as Bishop Andrewes as a Scholar of the College, but it must in candour be admitted that his connection with it was very slight. Of the other Scholars little or nothing is known, but, with the possible exception of Yeomans, all seem to have been of English birth. It is indeed remarkable, but quite in keeping with the absence of restriction in the Letters Patent, that so few of the original members of the Foundation were Welshmen. With the exception of the Principal, four or five of the Fellows, and possibly one Scholar, all seem to have been English.

But the character of the College did not necessarily depend upon the members of its Foundation, who, as a matter of fact, were probably all of them, with the exception of Dr. Aubrey, non-resident. There was at present

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no endowment, for Dr. Price's bequest of £60 a year could only become effective after his death, and even when that took place in 1574, it was only after legal proceedings that the College obtained any revenue from this source, and therefore at first both Fellowships and Scholarships were honorary only. If we look, on the other hand, to the actual students in the College, it is apparent that from the first the Welsh entirely predominated. Notwithstanding the Letters Patent, in Wales the College was clearly regarded as a House for Welshmen. There is a College list of the year 1573 containing thirty-two names, of which more than two-thirds are Welsh,* while among the thirty who matriculated from the College in 1575 there are only nine who are not from Wales or the four bordering counties.†

§ 4. THE EARLIEST BUILDINGS AND FIRST YEARS OF THE COLLEGE.

In accordance with the Letters Patent, the new College entered at once into possession of all the buildings, site and garden land which had belonged to White Hall. To these, no doubt, was soon added, if it was not originally included, the site of White Hall in Ship Street, and also of Plummer Hall and Laurence Hall, though the latter was owned by Lincoln College, to which was paid up to the present century a small quit-rent. At first the students lived in the old buildings of White Hall, standing where now Staircases IV. and V. are situated. But Dr. Price at once

* *Register of the University* (ed. Clark), vol. ii. part ii. p. 36. See Appendix I.

† *Ibid.* p. 62.

commenced to build his College, starting north of the gateway in Turl Street, and carrying the building, two storeys high, along to the corner of Cheyney Lane, and then as far along the lane as White Hall. This ground was formerly a garden, which in 1552 was let for twenty-one years by one Richard Gunter to John Man, Principal of White Hall. In 1580, the year in which it was sold to the College by Richard Gunter the son, it is described in the script of sale * as “modo existens pars et parcella novae aedificationis Collegii,” while the same document proves that White Hall was not at that time taken down. Dr. Price is said to have spent on the building by the time of his death in 1574 as much as £1500. It is stated in Nicholas Fitzherbert’s *Descriptio Oxoniensis Academiae* † that he inserted a stone on the southern side of the gateway with this inscription :

“Struxit Hugo Pricius tibi clara palatia, Iesu.
Ut doctor legum pectora docta daret.”

To which a wag of the time, in view of the advanced age of the builder and the magnitude of the work designed, added another distich :

“Nondum struxit Hugo ; vix fundamenta locavit
Det Deus ut possis dicere, Struxit Hugo.”

In Agas’ map of Oxford (1578), the new buildings from the gateway to the corner of Cheyney Lane are shown, while White Hall and also some Halls at the

* Among the College muniments.

† *Elizabethan Oxford* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), p. 15.

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corner of Ship Street are still standing, the rest of the site being still garden ground.

On the resignation of Dr. Lewes in 1572, Dr. Griffith Lloyd, a civilian and formerly Fellow of All Souls, was elected second Principal, being, no doubt, either appointed by the Commissioners or, as in the case of the Halls, nominated by the Chancellor and elected by the members of the College. He was a brother-in-law of Dr. Lougher, and succeeded him as Regius Professor of Civil Law in 1577. Under Dr. Lloyd, though none of the Fellows and Scholars seem to have been resident, the College must have had a very fair number of students. The Register of the University shows that thirty matriculated in 1575, and as many as forty-six in 1581,* the majority being Welsh, but with a very fair sprinkling of English. Dr. Lloyd himself was a native of Cardiganshire, and in the last year of his life was elected M.P. for that county. Till then he was probably resident in Oxford, holding his professorship till his death in 1586. He has the honour of being the first Benefactor of the College, bequeathing by his will certain lands in Cardiganshire for the maintenance of a Fellow and Scholar of his blood and kindred. This, however, was not to take effect till the death of his wife and daughter, and it was not till 1615 that the College actually came into possession of them.

On the death of Dr. Price, however, in 1574, in accordance with the understanding on which he had obtained the Charter, property to the value of £60 a year was to come to the College. Dr. Price himself had

* *Register of University* (ed. Clark), vol. ii. part ii. pp. 101 and 106.

no landed property, nor did he, as Wood asserts, convey lands and tenements in Brecknockshire to the College. What he did was to lay out £600 in a mortgage on certain lands, for the interest of which £60 was to be paid annually to the College. But, as a memorandum written by Griffith Powell, the fifth Principal, about the year 1609, explains,

“when M^r D^r Lloyd was appointed Principall of the said College, he could gette neither landes nor rent for the same . . . in so much that he was fayne to sue the tenante whom he outlawed. At last the matter came to this that the College should have the £600, and the landes should returne to those that mortgaged them. When the money was receaved, there grewe a contraversie betwiext the Principall and some of the Fellowes where the same should be kept, untill the time that it might be bestowed upon landes, for that M^r D^r Aubrey (who was Fellowe there & Commissioner appointed by Q. Elizabeth in the Letters patente) would fayne (as it was reported) have the keeping of the money or of some part thereof, which the Principall would in noe wise agree unto. At last it was accorded that the money should be left with the Companie of the Goldsmithes in London, who were contented to yeald of their voluntarie contribution £5 in the year for every hundred, as long as the said money remayned with them. M^r D^r Lloyd died within a yeare or thereabout after the £600 was delivered to the Goldsmithes.”

It seems from this that till the end of Dr. Lloyd's Principalship—i.e., till 1586—the College was entirely without external revenue, and the Principal must have been dependent solely upon the rent of the College Chambers.

CHAPTER II

EARLY DIFFICULTIES

§ 1. THIRD AND FOURTH PRINCIPALS.

THE third Principal was another civilian, Francis Bevens, D.C.L., born in Carmarthen town, though his grandfather, Ivan ab Evans, came from North Cardigan-shire. Like his two predecessors, Dr. Bevens had been a Fellow of All Souls (1573), and was at one time Principal of New Inn Hall. He was elected in November 1586, and, as we learn from the contemporary memorandum of Principal Griffith Powell already alluded to, "*per socios non collegialiter congregatos.*" The form of the election, as we know from the "public instrument" recording the election of the next Principal, Dr. Williams, was this: All the resident members of the College having assembled for prayers in the Common Hall, a letter or schedule was read, subscribed by the names of the Fellows appointed in the Letters Patent, nominating the new Principal

"ut socios scholares studentes Collegii secundum statuta leges et constitutiones sancitas vel posthac secundum Literas Regias patentes sanciendas regat gubernet et moderetur."

The new Principal was then presented with the keys of

the College Gate and of his own Chambers, which in the presence of the whole College "*intravit et ibidem ad tempus clausis ostiis permansit.*"

Practically all our information as to the events of Dr. Bevans' Principalship comes from the extremely interesting and valuable document which Griffith Powell drew up with the double object of giving an account of the "College Estate" and of describing the steps taken towards procuring a body of statutes for the College.* By this time three of the original Fellows had died, and therefore, "within three yeares or thereabout after that Mr. Dr. Bevans was chosen Principal, Griffith Powell master of Artes was chosen *per socios non collegialiter congregatos* Fellowe of the said College (by means of Sir John Perrotte) and one John Williams † was chosen with him." It was appointed by the Commissioners "that each of these two Fellowes should receive 20 nobles by the yeare of the increase of the College money and should have also their chambers free." John Williams, however, was within six months, through the influence of Dr. Aubrey, elected Fellow of All Souls, and "one Edward James was chosen *modo et forma praedicta* Fellowe of Jesus College." From this time until his death in 1620 Griffith Powell was the moving spirit of the College, and it ought not to be forgotten that if it seemed to enter on a new lease

* As a matter of fact he drew up two documents: one, the fuller and more interesting, in 1608 or 1609, before he was Principal; and the other immediately after his election to the Principalship in 1613. Of the former I recently discovered, among a number of miscellaneous papers, the original draft; of the latter there exists only a copy made at the close of last century by Principal Hoare.

† The fourth Principal.

of life with brighter prospects, a more assured position, and greater prestige under Sir Eubule Thelwall, these results were due in no small measure to the untiring devotion and dogged resolution with which Griffith Powell struggled, often under great disadvantages and with small profit to himself, to maintain the interests and secure the position of his "poore College."

The first point to which he directed his attention was the employment of the College money, the £600 given by Dr. Price. Dr. Bevens, "who remayned for the most part at Hereford where he was Chancellor," neglected the College affairs. The Goldsmiths, with whom the money was deposited, had given him notice that after a certain date they would no longer pay any interest; but he had taken no steps to employ the money elsewhere, and in consequence for eight years nothing was received by the College, and the two Fellows after 1595 were no longer able to get the twenty nobles yearly which they should have received. It was only by complaining to the Archbishop of Canterbury, one of the Commissioners, that Griffith Powell, with the help of Dr. Aubrey, and not without bringing considerable pressure to bear upon the Goldsmiths' Company, was enabled, after Dr. Bevens' death, to secure the payment of five per cent. interest on the money. The following passage throws some light on the bursarial transactions of the time:

"The Michaelmas following (*i.e.*, in 1604) M^r D^r Williams & M^r Powell went to London, & conferred with the Goldsmithes, who tould them the College was to have no increase for 8 yeares before D^r Bevens his death, for the reason above alleged, nor for one yeare after his death

for the same reason. . . . But at last they were contented, though with much adoe to give £20 for the year after his death (1602-3) & withal they were desirous to take the £600 by one halfe yeare longer yealdinge for the same after five in the hundred by the yeare. M^r Powell tould them that there was one hundred pounds more than was in the bond due for the increase . . . and willed them to turn to their owne Register booke & said that there they should fynde it registered that they did owe the College soe much. . . . But they would not fynde their booke nor confess the £100. Whereuppon M^r Powell broke out in some termes & told them that the Lords of the Council should know of their dealings & compel them to produce their booke. At last they yealded the £100 to the College, but they would not show their booke at all. And thus had the £100 bin lost, if M^r Powell had not bin firm."

Referring to a few years later, the memorandum proceeds :

"In the mean tyme divers gentlemen of South Wales were earnest suytors to have the loane of the £700, yealdinge good securitie & consideration for the same. But some of the College, knowing with what difficulty M^r D^r Lloyd got the money there, would by noe means yeald their consent to lett out the money again to the gentlemen of that country."

Finally the money was deposited with All Souls College, who, "having occasion to disburse money, were contented to yield £7 in the hundred," and so the College received £50 a year from Dr. Price's bequest, until later on a part of the money was spent in building and the rest laid out by Principal Powell in the purchase of some lands in Herefordshire.

"Dr. Bevens was 15 yeares Principall & was almost alwayes away, & Mr. Powell governed the College most of his tyme." It was fortunate that the Principal had so efficient a substitute. In spite of its money difficulties and the absence of its Head, the College would seem to have been in a fairly flourishing condition. In 1592 and 1594 in particular there was an exceptionally large number of entries, the great majority of students still coming from Wales.*

It was under Dr. Bevens that the second Letters Patent were obtained from Queen Elizabeth, dated July 7, 1589. How this was managed, and why, may perhaps best be told in the words of Griffith Powell:

"The only & best thing he did was this: Whereas the Mortmayne of the College granted by Queen Elizabeth did licence the College to receave but one hundred pounds by the yeare" (i.e., exclusive of Dr Price's bequest) "& whereas the Commissioners therein named to make Statutes for the government of the College were almost all dead, he purchased of the Queen by means of Sir John Herbert, then Master of Requests, other Letters Patent whereby the College might take & receave two hundred pounds by the yeare; & twelve men were named therein to make statutes or any three of them. . . . In these Letters patent he procured himself to be named Principall pro termino vitae, for the which cause (as it is probablie conjectured) he purchased the said Letters patente, for that he thought himself not legally chosen Principall by the Fellowes, by cause they were not 'collegialiter congregati.' These Letters patente were purchased at the charges of the College."

* *Register of the University*, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 188, 206-7.

Among the twelve Commissioners now appointed were the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of the University, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Westphaling of Hereford, Sir John Herbert, the Principal, and the Principal of Brasenose. While a majority of the first Commissioners were required to sanction any proceedings, now any three could act in the name of all.

Dr. Bevans died at Hereford in May 1602. Some time before he had attempted to secure the Principship for Mr. William Aubrey of Christchurch. Mr. Griffith Powell discovered the design and frustrated it, thinking that another person, Dr. John Williams, of All Souls, "was more willing and able to doe the College more good than Mr. Aubrey was."

John Williams had been, as we have seen, a Fellow of Jesus for a short time before his election at All Souls. He was a native of Llansawel in Carmarthenshire, and was related by marriage to the Vaughans of Golden Grove. He had been Rector of Llandrinio, and, since 1594, Margaret Professor of Divinity. From a rental of the parishes of Caio and Llansawel in the time of James I. preserved at the Public Record Office, he appears as a considerable owner of property in that district, and it was no doubt hoped that he would prove a liberal benefactor to the struggling College.

He was elected Principal in the manner described above, "*per socios non collegialiter congregatos*," on May 17, 1602, and one of the first things which he did was to institute a *Liber Collegii*, containing a register of the elections of Fellows and Scholars, and copies of the most important acts of the College, together with occasional statements of accounts. The first entry con-

sists of letters monitory dated May 19, issued by two of the Commissioners—the Archbishop of Canterbury and Sir John Herbert—requiring the three surviving original Fellows to repair to the College and personally to present themselves there on the 10th day of July next, and thence not to depart “untill you doe by lawfull means proceed to make up the number of Fellowes and Scholars necessarie to the Foundation, and further doe such act or acts as you shall be directed by us and others her Majestie’s Commissioners.”

In accordance with these instructions a meeting was held in the morning of July 12, 1602, “in communi Aula Collegii Jesu,” at which Dr. Williams, Dr. John Lloyd and John Higgenson were present, Robert Johnsson failing to appear, and being pronounced contumacious by the Principal. The letters monitory having been produced by Griffith Powell, who acted as an emissary of the Commissioners, the Principal and two Fellows proceed “juxta formam statuti facti et promulgati” by three of the Commissioners to elect Fellows and Scholars, Griffith Powell being at once unanimously elected Fellow, a re-election which, as he himself explains, was advisable, because he had previously been elected only “per socios non collegialiter congregatos.” In the afternoon a second meeting was held, and the four electors “collegialiter congregati” filled up the remaining vacancies, electing as Fellows, Thomas Lloyd, Edward Adkins, Evan Vaughan and Richard Nannie, besides five Scholars. This is the first regular election held within the College. All the Fellows elected on this occasion, and probably all the Scholars, were Welsh.

In this same year Dr. Herbert Westphaling, Bishop of Hereford, died, and by his will left to the College some lands at Bache and Sidcombe in Herefordshire, bringing in £20 a year, for the maintenance of two Fellows and two Scholars, preference being given to his own kindred. As we have seen, Principal Lloyd had already bequeathed lands to the College in Cardigan-shire, but, as his wife was still living, the College had not yet begun to benefit from them. Up to 1613 Dr. Westphaling's bequest was "all the landes which the College yet had in esse."

From this time then the College began to enter upon a new phase. The Principal was now resident, and there were several resident Fellows, two being provided for by Dr. Westphaling's bequest, and one or two others from the interest of Dr. Price's money. The Principal, in the continued absence of statutes, still occupied a somewhat autocratic position, but he at least recognised his responsibility by making statements of accounts in the College Register. It is probable, however, that this last point was not conceded without some friction. In 1608 the practice had not begun, and Griffith Powell, speaking of the £50 paid annually by All Souls, writes :

"Mr Dr Williams doth, I doubt not, employe them to the good & benefitt of the College, but yet none of the Fellowes knoweth anything thereof, in so much that if it please God to take him away, the College would hardlie come by their money, for it could be hardlie known whether any money be due to the College or no, and where it lieth."

There was some controversy also we find between the Principal and the "Fellowes who weare at home," as to where the Letters Patent and bonds should be kept :

"Mr Powell would have had a chest made (by reason the house had none, nor noe other place to keep the College goods) which chest should have two or three lockes & as many keyes, whereof the Principal should keep one keye & one or two of the Fellowes should keep the others. . . . but Mr Principall said that he was sufficient himself to keepe all these things—et praevaluit."*

On July 12, 1612, however, we find that the Principal made a full statement, signed, it is true, only by himself, not only of all the money he had received since his election, but also of all the bonds and other documents in his possession.

§ 2. THE ATTEMPT TO GET STATUTES.

As we have seen, the original Commissioners being mostly dead without having drawn up statutes for the College, a second set were appointed by the Charter of 1589, any three of whom might act without the rest. From the first Griffith Powell did his best, by appeals to various Commissioners, and no doubt by representation to the Principal, to get statutes drawn up. At last Dr. Bevans commissioned him "to collect some statutes of other Colleges whereof he might have a view, and by or out of which he might have statutes made for the College." This he did, "wrote them fayre on a quire of paper, and delivered them to Mr D^r Bevans" to get them confirmed by the Commissioners.

* No doubt the present chest with its three locks dates from Griffith Powell's own Principalship.

The Principal, however, was much less eager for this result than his colleague, and taking the copy to Hereford, where he stayed for several years, he conveniently lost it. Powell, however, made another copy, with which he went to London in Easter Term 1595, and delivered it to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the chief Commissioner. The latter promised next vacation to peruse the statutes, meanwhile sending for the Principal and "sharplie reprehending" him for that he had not all this while solicited the Commissioners to have statutes made. The statutes were then passed on to Dean Goodman, another Commissioner, and subsequently to Bishop Westphaling, who carefully perused and corrected them, and when he had finished "caused them to be written very fayre in a large booke and putt thereto his hand and seale." Things, however, had moved very slowly, and it was not till June 1601 that this took place. Early in 1602 Bishop Westphaling died, and Dr. Bevans in the following May. The statutes, still needing two other signatures, were now sent to Sir John Herbert, who with Mr. Powell

"did reade a greate part of the statutes which he liked very well, but having not leisure at that time to read them all over said he would shortlie after read the rest and subscribe."

Dr. Williams, however, the new Principal, hearing what had been done, was no more anxious than his predecessor had been to have the statutes confirmed. Being in London on other business, he took the statutes from Sir John Herbert and carried them back with him to Oxford still unsubscribed, and "kept them in his study

untill 1609 (some seaven yeares), at which time he never got them subscribed and confirmed."

"If you will ask me," writes Griffith Powell, "why the statutes all this while be not confirmed, I doe thinke that the Principalls there are loath to have any statutes at all; for now they have absoluta et quasi transcendentalis potestas, which would be limited if there were statutes."

The question was clearly the cause of friction and ill-feeling in the College.

"The Fellowes complayne that they are not used like Fellowes by M^r D^r Williams, and yet they use him like Principall. They are scarce saluted in any thing nor consulted, while in negotiis Collegii only M^r Powell, say they, is sometimes admissus in concilium, & yet not soe often as he ought. Arbitria principalis (they say) pro legibus sunt."

Griffith Powell, loath as he was to do anything against Dr. Williams, "for they were christened in one fonte,* and have ever lived together as friends, and withal are kinsmen," nevertheless held that "amicus Principalis, amicus cognatus, amicus affinis, sed magis amicum Collegium."

Matters came to a crisis in 1609, when on Mr. Powell's information the new Archbishop, as Chancellor of the University, compelled Dr. Williams to give up the copy of the statutes. What followed is clear enough from a notice in the Register of the University under the date of July 20 :

"John Kinge the Vice-Chancellor, in obedience to a mandate of the Chancellor, restored Griffin Powell to the

* They were both natives of the same parish—Llansawel.

offices of 'Vice-Principalis et Magister Aulae' in Jesus College, from which he had been expelled by John Williams, D.D., the Principal, and inhibited Sampson Price from exercising these offices any longer." *

The unfortunate statutes, however, still remained unconfirmed. The Chancellor died, and the new Archbishop, who was not a Commissioner, finding them in his study, sent them back to Dr. Williams, who kept them till his death in 1613. By this time, however, only the two ex-officio Commissioners were left, and so Principal Powell only recovered the statutes which had cost him so much labour, and had passed through so many vicissitudes, to find that it was no longer possible to get them confirmed without a new Commission.

Dr. Williams died on September 4, 1613. He was a learned divine, the author of many theological works, and apparently a capable, if somewhat arbitrary, Head, under whose administration a fair number of students, especially from South Wales, entered the College. He was Vice-Chancellor in 1604. As a Benefactor he hardly fulfilled the hopes with which he had been elected Principal, since he only left the College £50 towards the maintenance of a Logic Lecturer.

* *Register of the University*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 289.

CHAPTER III

GROWTH OF THE COLLEGE

§ 1. GRIFFITH POWELL PRINCIPAL.

FOR years—indeed ever since his first election as Fellow in about 1590—Griffith Powell had resided in the College, and had devoted himself to its interests, practically directing it during the prolonged absence of Dr. Bevans, and acting as Tutor and Vice-Principal under Dr. Williams. There was no sort of doubt that he was the right man for the vacant Principalship. The election, however, was not in this case made either by resident or non-resident Fellows. On former occasions the elections by Fellows, whether collegialiter or non-collegialiter congregati, had no doubt been authorised or confirmed by the Commissioners. Now, as we have seen, a quorum of Commissioners was not to be secured, and accordingly the College, in the absence of statutes, might be considered to have fallen back into the position of a Hall, the Principal of which was nominated by the Chancellor of the University. This, at any rate, was the view taken by the Chancellor, Lord Ellesmere, who accordingly wrote to Dr. Singleton, the Vice-Chancellor :

“Whereas I doe find by your letter that the office of the Principal of Jesus College is now voyde by the death of

Mr Dr Williams & I am given likewise to understand that the disposing of that place belongeth unto me, as Chancellor of the University, I do by these present letters require you to admitte Mr. Griffith Powell, M.A., one of the Fellowes of that house or College, to be the Principall thereof. Nevertheless, if it shall hereafter appear that the Principall of that House is elective by the Fellows, my purpose is not then that this acte of mine should in any wise prejudice that course of election, but only intimate to them my approbation & allowance of Mr Powell to be the person I hold very sufficient & fitte to be elected by them."

We learn from the Register of the University that

"in obedience to this letter the Vice-Chancellor came to Jesus College & admitted Powell to the Principalship, no Fellows appearing or claiming the right of election."*

The new Principal, Griffith Powell, was born in 1561 in the same parish as his predecessor, Dr. Williams, being the third son of John ap Howel. On his mother's side he was first cousin to Dr. Griffith Lloyd, the second Principal. He matriculated from Jesus College in 1581, and was D.C.L. in 1599. A Fellow of the College since 1590, he seems continuously to have resided in Oxford. We meet with his name more than once as a disputant in the Schools: he was on three occasions Clerk of the Market, and he had the reputation of being an energetic and capable tutor. In 1594 and 1598 he published at Oxford *Analyses of the Posterior Analytics*, and of the *Sophistici Elenchi*,

* Vol. ii. part i. p. 240.

with reference to which the following stanza was circulated:

“Griffith Powell for the honour of his nation,
Wrote a book of Demonstration,
But having little else to do
He wrote a book of Elenchs too.”

With the Principalship of Griffith Powell the College made a considerable advance in several directions. He was himself

“accounted by all a most noted philosopher and subtle disputant and one that acted and drudged much as a Tutor Moderator and Adviser in Studies among the Juniors.”

“I am crediblie informed,” writes the Chancellor, “that having long been a Fellow of the Colledge, he hath good experience of the good estate and government thereof, and hath been very diligent, industrious and carefull for the good of the same.”

We can hardly doubt that, having been himself concerned in drawing up the course of study which was ultimately established by the statutes, he would, in anticipation of their formal confirmation, use his authority as Principal to give practical effect to them.

Up to this time, as has been already stated, the only lands which actually brought in revenue to the College were those at Bache and Sidcombe in Herefordshire, bequeathed by Bishop Westphaling, and as we know from Griffith Powell himself, “there are but two Fellows and two Scholars that have any stipend or allowance from the College: the rest be ‘socii et scholares honorarii,’ and they live abroad.” The College, how-

ever, received several additional bequests about this time. In 1615 the lands at Nantgunllo and Llanddewi Brevy in Cardiganshire, bequeathed by Principal Griffith Lloyd, were set free by his wife's death and brought in about £15 a year. About the same time some lands at Eriannell in Anglesey, the gift of Bishop Rowlands of Bangor, came to the College, and increased the revenues by another £20; while with the sum of £200 bequeathed by Owen Wood, Dean of Armagh, together with a portion of the money left by Dr. Price, the Herefordshire lands were now increased by the purchase of the Manor of Dorstone, and another £20 were added to the revenues.

It was now possible to increase the number of paid Fellowships and Scholarships. Several vacancies had taken place. There was only one resident Fellow at this time, and on August 17, 1615, "*in camera quadam inferiori in hospitio Principalis,*" the Principal and Evan Vaughan "*ex Corpore illo Collegiato soli tunc temporis in Academia existentes,*" proceeded to elect three Fellows and two Scholars, the Fellows being Thomas Prichard, Morgan Powell, and John Maddocks, letters being produced from two of the absent Fellows, Robert Johnson and John Higgenson, approving of the nomination. The signatures in the Register prove that during the following years the newly elected Fellows and Evan Vaughan resided in the College.

They prove also that Principal Powell carried out in practice the views he had previously expressed as to the share in the government of the College which ought to be given to the Fellows. Instead of the Principal's sole signature, which we find under Dr. Williams, the

various documents are now regularly signed by three or four Fellows.

§ 2. FRESH BUILDINGS AND NEW BENEFACTORS.

But it was as a builder that Griffith Powell will be mostly remembered. Nothing had been done in this respect since the Principalship of Dr. Griffith Lloyd and the completion of the original buildings begun by Dr. Price himself. There was as yet no chapel and no Hall, except whatever had done service for these purposes in the old buildings of White Hall. The new Principal threw himself with vigour into the task of completing the College in this respect. The first requisite was, of course, money, and to raise what was sufficient for replacing White Hall with buildings corresponding to the east front, and for building a kitchen, buttery, Hall and chapel, steps were taken for soliciting contributions from the gentry and clergy in all parts of Wales. "What first gave occasion to Mr. Powell to go about this work" was the bounty of Mrs. Ann Lloyd, the widow of Dr. Griffith Lloyd, who gave £100 for this purpose. In 1616 we find in the Register a letter of attorney given to certain persons to collect for the College certain sums of money promised by the gentry in the county of Brecon :

"Whereas there are divers knights, esquires, gentlemen and others, men of good worth within the countie of Brecon who out of a pious and godlie intention and affection which they beare to learninge and for the advancement thereof have resolved and promised to give divers sums of money to be converted employed and bestowed

towards the now erecting buildinge and finishinge of the said Colledge, to the end the same may be made more decent fittinge and habitable for Schollers and Students which nowe are and hereafter shall live and reside there—which said several sums of money cannot be convenientlie collected and gathered accordinge to their godlie intention without great expense of money unto us the Principal Fellows and Scholars, and loss of time unto such of our Societie as should be used and employed for that purpose, Sir Henry Williams Kt. is appointed true and lawful Attorney with full power to receive the money, &c."

Similar attorneys were appointed for the other Welsh counties, and in the Benefactors' Book we have

"the names of the worthy personages who in Principal Powell's time and at his request contributed towards the building of the Hall, Buttery and Kitchen with the chamber over the latter."

The amount collected in this way was £764 5s. 6d., the greater part of which came from South Wales, while in a separate list there are the names of such of the clergy of Wales who contributed to this work, headed by Dr. Parry, Bishop of St. Asaph.

With this money so liberally provided by the Principality the south side of the original Quadrangle was completed, White Hall being at this time no doubt pulled down. Further than this, the Kitchen and Buttery with the chamber over them, now the Bursar's Rooms, were built, and also the Dining Hall or Refectory, towards the wainscoting of which John Young, Secretary to the Lord Chancellor, Egerton,



From a photograph by the

INTERIOR OF THE HALL

[Oxford Camera Club



contributed £60. Along part of the north side of the Quadrangle on part of the site of Laurence Hall, for which the College, by an Indenture dated April 1, 1619, had to pay Lincoln College an annual rent of 40s., was built at the same time the chapel, partly perhaps with money collected from Wales by Principal Powell, but mainly at the expense of Sir Eubule Thelwall. Neither the Hall nor the chapel was entirely completed when Griffith Powell died in June 1620, but they were at once finished by his successor, and the chapel was consecrated on May 28, 1621. By this date, therefore, the outer Quadrangle was completed, except for a vacant space between the western end of the chapel and the Hall, where the Principal's Lodgings now are.

Nor was it only in its fabrics and buildings that Griffith Powell left the College better equipped than he found it. From the beginning of his Principalship benefactions began steadily to come in. In addition to the Herefordshire lands left by Bishop Westphaling and the lands at Dorston in the same county bought by Principal Powell with some of Dr. Price's money, and the £200 given by Owen Wood, Dean of Armagh, the College now possessed lands at Eriannell in Anglesey, the bequest of Henry Rowlands, Bishop of Bangor, one of the few benefactors of this period from North Wales. These lands, worth £20 a year, were intended to support two fit Scholars, one from the Schools of Llŷn or Bangor, and the other from the School at Beaumaris, to be Fellows of the College, "which upon the knees of my heart I do pray and beseech the Principal and Fellows to see performed."

Another smaller bequest came from Thomas Red-

driche, a native of Carmarthen town, and afterwards a minister of Batley in Suffolk, who for the maintenance of two Scholars of the county of Carmarthen left some tenements at Messing in Essex, and a rent-charge on the Rectory of St. Margaret's in Ipswich, of the value of about £10 a year. With the addition of Principal Powell's own bequest, by which he characteristically "gave all that he had to Jesus College," and with which lands at Nannerch and Estiviock in Flintshire, worth nearly £20 a year, were purchased by his successor, the College possessed by the time of his death property to the value of nearly £100 a year, or just half of what it was allowed by the second Letters Patent to receive.

§ 3. EARLY MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGE.

Of the composition of the College during the first fifty years of its existence, as far as nationality is concerned, a fairly satisfactory idea may be gained from the Matriculation lists between 1571 and 1622.* During these years 367 students seem to have entered at Jesus College; of these 73 were from North Wales, 160 from South Wales, 70 from the four Border Counties, and 64 from the rest of England. These figures show a strong preponderance of Welshmen in the College, especially from South Wales, and it must be noted that the Founder and at present all the Principals had come from this part of the Principality. But during the same years as many as 963 Welshmen had entered the University, 574 from North Wales and 389 from South Wales, so that less than a fourth of the total number of

* *Register of the University*, vol. ii. part ii. (ed. Clark.)

Welsh students came in this period to Jesus, and in the case of North Wales only one-eighth. In fact, Hart Hall and Christ Church both received more students from North Wales than Jesus did, and St. Edmund Hall, Oriel and Brasenose not very many less.

The College had already numbered among its alumni several men of note and eminence in their own country, if not beyond. Bishop Andrewes and Bishop Dove had, it is true, as already pointed out, merely a nominal connection with the College of which they were "honorary" Scholars for so many years. But Richard Meredyth, successively Dean of St. Patrick and Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, seem to have joined the College as soon as it was founded, graduating from it as M.A. in 1575. Nearly the same is true of John Rider, of Carrington in Cheshire, who graduated B.A. in 1581, M.A. in 1583. Six years after his M.A. he published at the University Press an English-Latin and Latin-English Dictionary, including, as he asserted, 4000 more words than any previous English lexicographer. For nearly twenty years (1597-1615) he was an absentee Rector of Winwick, in Lancashire, living almost all this time in Ireland, where he was Dean of St. Patrick in Dublin, and in 1612 Bishop of Kildare. In addition to the dictionary, he was also known for some controversial pamphlets against Irish Jesuits.

Another North Welshman was David Powell, a man described as "in omni literarum genere maxime versatus." His was probably the first degree taken from the new College, and he was also the first of many eminent Welsh antiquaries of whom the College can boast. He is best known for his completion of Caradawg's *History*

of *Wales* commenced by Humphrey Llwyd, and for an *Historia Britannica*—an epitome of Geoffrey of Monmouth—published in 1585. A Welsh Dictionary on which he was engaged at the time of his death apparently never saw the light. His son Gabriel, who was perhaps a pupil of Griffith Powell, was also a scholar of some eminence, and though cut off at the early age of thirty was already esteemed a prodigy of learning. Still more distinguished in his special line was Dr. John Davies, a pupil and friend of Dr. Richard Parry, Bishop of St. Asaph. Graduating from Jesus in 1593, he devoted himself to the language and antiquities of his native country, assisted Bishop Parry in his revisal of the Welsh Bible, published in Latin an excellent Welsh Grammar—*Antiquae linguae Britannicae rudimenta*—and in 1632 his great Welsh Dictionary, a work which for two centuries held the field, and was only superseded by that of Owen Pughe, with its 100,000 words and 12,000 quotations, published in 1803.

A distinguished member of the College under Principal Williams was Morgan Owen, who matriculated December 16, 1608, and for four years was servitor to David Williams, afterwards Vicar of Myddfai. He afterwards became Chaplain of New College, but was again described as of Jesus College in 1636, when he graduated as D.D. Coming under the notice of Laud, he was soon “well beneficed in Wales” and was elected Bishop of Llandaff in 1640. He was impeached with other Bishops for promulgating the Canon of 1641 and was imprisoned in the Tower. Subsequently with eleven other Bishops he was impeached of High Treason for signing a protest against the Long Parliament. They were all voted

guilty of praemunire and their estates forfeited. Morgan Owen's seems, however, to have been restored ultimately to his heirs. It was Morgan Owen who in 1637 built the well-known South Porch of St. Mary's Church with the image of the Virgin and Child, which gave so much offence to the Puritans. He had intended to be a considerable Benefactor to his old College, announcing his intention of bequeathing to it the Improprate Rectories of St. Ishmael, Carmarthen, and Nevern in Pembrokeshire. A rent-charge in the form of £20 a year was actually left in his Will to the Grammar School at Carmarthen where he was educated. His intentions, however, as to the College, though publicly expressed, were not inserted in the Will, and in spite of the efforts made by Dr. Mansell, the heirs refused to follow out the Bishop's known wishes.*

Of the eminent civilians who gave prestige to the College in its early years some mention has already been made. Not the least distinguished was its first Principal, Dr. David Lewis; Dr. William Aubrey, and Dr. Robert Lougher, two of the original Fellows, and Dr. Griffith Lloyd, the second Principal, were all of them Regius Professors of Civil Law, while Dr. Bevans, the third Principal, and Dr. John Lloyd, another original Fellow, were both at one time Judges of the Admiralty, the former in Pembrokeshire, the other no doubt in some part of Wales.

In a very different line, but well worthy of mention, was Rees Prichard, poet and preacher, who entered the College in 1597, the author of the well-known *Canwyll y Cymry*.

* *Life of Mansell*, p. 6.

"As a preacher he stood pre-eminent, & so real was his popularity that even when he came to keep residence as Chancellor at St. David's he was obliged to have a movable pulpit placed in the Churchyard, the nave of that spacious Cathedral not being large enough for his overflowing congregation. Perceiving the people to be ignorant & also much addicted to singing, he turned the substance of his sermons into verse, which he gave to his parishioners, & thus originated most of those compositions which had so great an influence over his countrymen. . . . The work was no sooner printed than it appeared in almost every hand & was heard from almost every mouth throughout the Principality." *

Another distinguished alumnus was Sir James Perrot of Harroldstone in Pembrokeshire, said to have been an illegitimate son of Sir John Perrot, who in his turn was thought to be the son of Henry VIII. He entered the College in 1586, but leaving the University without a degree, he returned from his travels "an accomplished gentleman," and was by no means unknown as an author, publishing the *Discovery of Discontented Minds* in 1596, and in 1600 the *First Part of the Consideration of Humane Condition*, while a Life of Sir Philip Sidney was written but not published. He was also an active member of Parliament, under James I., representing Haverfordwest, and taking a prominent part in the demonstration against the Spanish Marriage. In his own county too he was a conspicuous figure, being among other things Deputy Vice-Admiral for the Earl of Pembroke. In this capacity he attempted to check the predatory habits of Welsh wreckers, and frequently

* Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 424-5.

urged on the Secretary of State the necessity of fortifying Milford Haven as a protection against the Turkish pirates. A portrait of Sir James Perrot, who died in 1636, is in the Principal's Lodgings, being specially mentioned in Mansell's Inventory.

Only one other of the earlier members of the College can be mentioned here, and he very briefly.* Sir William Vaughan, of Golden Grove in Carmarthenshire, a younger brother of the first Earl of Carbery, entered Jesus College in 1591. Of his Oxford career we know little, though he was considered a good Latin poet and took his Degree in Arts. That he retained the friendship of his contemporaries and tutors is proved by the fact that among the writers of complimentary Latin verses appended to his best known work, *The Golden Grove Moralised*, are found the names of John Williams, Griffith Powell, and Gabriel Powell. Apart from his voluminous writings, which, fantastic as many of them are, often throw a valuable light on the conditions and ideas of his time, the main interest of his eccentric career centres in the part he took in the foundation of the colony of Newfoundland. Thither in 1616 he transported at his own charge "certayne colonies of men and women," who were settled in a district of the south coast which out of compliment to Wales he called Cambriol, and which still bears the name of Little Britain. Though spending henceforward, apparently intermittently, a considerable portion of his time in the settlement, to which he devoted his fortune and

* I much regret that space prevents me from using the valuable notes on Sir William Vaughan, which Mr. D. Lleufer Thomas of Swansea kindly placed at my disposal.

talents, and which he "expressly planned on such a scale as to make agricultural pursuits and the fishing mutually depend on each other," he nevertheless ended his days at home at Terra-Coed (Torcoed) in Carmarthenshire.

CHAPTER IV

SETTLEMENT OF THE COLLEGE

§ 1. SIR EUBULE THELWALL AND THE THIRD CHARTER.

GRIFFITH POWELL died in June 1620, and was buried in St. Michael's Church. With very little delay the Chancellor, now Lord Pembroke, acting on the precedent set at the last vacancy, nominated his kinsman and Chaplain, Francis Mansell, formerly a Commoner of the College and now Fellow of All Souls, and on July 3 the Vice-Chancellor appeared "*in aula communi noviter aedificata intra Collegium Jesu,*" and read the Chancellor's mandate, Francis Mansell being present and claiming admission to the Principalship. Three resident Fellows, however, Evan Vaughan, Thomas Prichard and Morgan Powell, on this occasion claimed the right of election "*et dissentiebant et protestabantur de nullitate ejusmodi processus in admissione magistri Francisci Mansell.*" The Vice-Chancellor, ignoring the statutes, to which the Fellows appealed, as not having been legally confirmed, proceeded according to the usual form of election and admission of Principals of Halls, and summoned before him all the persons whose names were on the Buttery-book ("*pauperibus exceptis scholaribus*"), and asked them individually whom they nominated as Principal. Thereupon twenty "co-

minarii" of the College (the names are almost all Welsh) nominated Mansell, though the three Fellows, four Scholars and five Bachelors protested against the Vice-Chancellor's action. He, however, administered the oaths to Mansell, declared him Principal of the College, and gave him "clavem hospitii sive camerae Principalis. Collegii, et clavem exterioris portae Collegii."

Once elected, Mansell carried things with a high hand. On July 11, in presence of sixteen members of the College, he pronounced Evan Vaughan to be no longer a Fellow, and two days later similarly deprived Richard Nannie, Thomas Prichard and Morgan Powell, and on Evan Vaughan's attempting to disturb the Principal in the execution of his office, the Vice-Chancellor sent for him and ordered him to desist "sub poena contemptus." *

In 1621 Mansell resigned the Principalship before his year of grace at All Souls was expired. Whether, owing to the dissensions within the College, he found his position untenable, or whether he resigned "on a prospect of some advantage which would accrue to the Societie thereby," is not clear. Sir Leoline Jenkins, in his *Life of Mansell*, says

"The zeal of Mr. Mansell did appear eminently for the good of the College in this juncture. For as he did not enter upon the charge, but to the prejudice of his Preferment in the world, his Fellowship being of greater emolument and of less expense than the Headship was, so he most readily quitted it when Sir Eubule Thelwall appeared willing to accept it, in contemplation of his greater abilitie

* Register of the University, vol. ii., pt. 2, p. 292.

to enlarge the Buildings and to increase the revenues of the College."

Similarly his epitaph in the College Chapel states that he resigned "*ut successori rem Collegii angustam large aucturo viam honestius sterneret.*"

In any case Sir Eubule Thelwall, whether on the nomination of the Chancellor or the election of the Fellows, was admitted Principal of the College in May 1621.

The new Principal, unlike his five predecessors, was a native of North Wales, being a member of a prominent and prolific family in Denbighshire: he was himself a younger son of a John Thelwall of Bathafarn, near Ruthin. Educated at Westminster School and Trinity College, Cambridge, he was incorporated at Oxford in 1579, and admitted Student of Gray's Inn in 1590. Called to the Bar in 1599, he was created a Master in Chancery in 1617, and knighted by James I. in 1619. On three separate occasions he represented Denbigh in Parliament, all of them subsequent to his election as Principal. A portrait of him hangs in the Principal's Lodgings, and in the Hall is another picture representing him as a child with his mother.

The time had come at last when the long delayed statutes of the College were to be duly drawn up and confirmed. The influence of the new Principal was able to obtain the concession of a Third Charter from King James I. dated June 1, 1622, which not only confirmed the privileges granted by the two previous Charters but increased them. The College was now to be allowed to receive endowments up to

“£600 a year, and was to consist of a Principal, sixteen Fellows and sixteen Scholars,” Sir Eubule Thelwall being confirmed in the office of Principal. Of the original eight Fellows, only two, Robert Johnson and John Higgenson, were still alive, and the number was now made up by the nomination of Theodore Price, D.D., Principal of Hart Hall, William Dolben, B.D., Maurice Merrick, William Prichard, Thomas Prichard and Robert Lloyd; while six Scholars were similarly nominated, Launcelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Dove, Bishop of Peterborough, alone remaining of the original eight. It is noticeable that these Letters Patent entirely ignore all elections to Fellowships and Scholarships, which had been made in the absence of statutes, though Thomas Prichard, one of the Fellows deposed by Mansell, was now renominated. The remaining eight Fellows and Scholars were to be elected, in accordance with the statute, by the Principal and the eight Fellows previously mentioned. Finally fresh Commissioners were appointed—the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor, Sir Eubule Thelwall, Sir William Byrde, Sir John Bennett, and Dr. Theodore Price—who, or any three of them, were to draw up statutes for the College.

Little time was lost after the appointment of this Commission in drawing up the statutes. The original copy, inscribed on parchment and signed by the Chancellor, Lord Pembroke, Sir W. Byrde, Sir Eubule Thelwall and Dr. Theodore Price, is in the possession of the College. They are probably, with slight modifications, the same as those drawn up years before by Griffith Powell, since they bear in many respects a strong

resemblance to the statutes of Brasenose, from which, as he expressly states, many of his statutes were taken. In one point, however, they differ from the Brasenose statutes—a point which the subsequent history of the College makes at first sight a little surprising. No local restrictions or limitations of any kind are implied in the Jesus statutes, any more than in the successive Letters Patent. The election to the Principalship, though *ceteris paribus* Fellows or ex-Fellows are to be preferred, is nevertheless to be made “*postposita acceptione personarum et patriae*.” Similarly, with regard to the Fellows and Scholars, the electors are to swear to elect “*postposita acceptione personae et patriae*,” though, in order that Scholars may be incited to make the greater progress, preference in the case of Fellowships is to be given to Scholars of the College who are either *Magistri* or *Baccalaurii in Artibus*.

How, then, it may be asked, in the absence of all legal restriction, did the College become and remain so closely associated with Wales? The answer is mainly to be found in an important clause or proviso in the statutes “*de electione Sociorum et Scholarium*,” the practical effect of which has been that till the Commissions in the present century almost all the Scholars and Fellows have been of Welsh birth. The clause runs :

“*Proviso semper quod nemo ad locum Socii aut Scholaris dicti Collegii e benefactore aliquo dotatum pensione aut stipendio annuo eligatur, nisi talis omnino tum quoad propiam tum quoad patriam, qualem ex benefactoris illius ordinationibus oportere constabit, aliquo alio statuto dicti Collegii non obstante.*”

At the time when the statutes were framed, though provision was made for sixteen Fellowships and sixteen Scholarships, not more than four or five of each at most were "loci dotati" under the meaning of the clause, and therefore the remainder might be elected without restriction, but they would at present be also without endowment, mere "honorary" places. In the following years a number of other Benefactors came forward, and more and more paid places were founded, but these Benefactors were mostly Welshmen, or connected with Wales, and their benefactions limited in most cases to their own kindred, but occasionally to particular parts of Wales.

Besides, the new Fellows nominated in the Letters Patent were this time all Welshmen, and accordingly the College would from this date start with a considerable majority of Fellows from the Principality. These, naturally, in their co-optation of the eight additional Fellows, chose their own countrymen; and it hardly needs pointing out that the same thing would occur in future elections, both to Fellowships and Scholarships, even where there was no express limitation in the Benefactors' bequests. Indeed, the wonder is, not that the Fellows were so preponderatingly Welsh, but that any Englishmen were elected at all. As a matter of fact, a reference to the Wills of the Benefactors of this period show that the limitations were, with a few exceptions, simply in favour of the Benefactors' own kin, and that, failing them, there was usually no local restriction. Kinship, however, especially in Wales, admitted of a somewhat elastic interpretation. Elaborate pedigrees were prepared by the candidates, and it is probable that for the first century or so it seldom happened that

no qualified person presented himself. Still the preponderance of Welsh Fellows and Scholars was *de facto* and not *de jure*, and to a large extent the result of a close corporation co-opting its own members.

The case was, however, somewhat different after the time of Sir Leoline Jenkins, through whose liberality the College for the first time had all its sixteen Fellowships and Scholarships really endowed. According to his wishes, a scheme was agreed upon, and formally ratified by an Indenture between his executors and the College, by which the Fellowships, with the exception of two reserved for Englishmen, were definitely apportioned between North and South Wales. This, it may fairly be argued, was in accordance with the spirit of the various Benefactions, but it was most certainly a departure in most cases from the letter of the bequests. Still, from the causes mentioned, it had already come about in practice that the character of the College was determined by the limiting proviso in the statutes, and not by the absence of restrictions which marked the charters and the statutes as a whole. There is no doubt that from the first the College was looked upon by the Welsh as a "National College," and it was owing probably to this fact that so many Welsh Benefactors came forward.

In addition to the Fellows and Scholars, the statutes allowed the admission of Commoners "*secundum capacitatem cubiculorum*," provided they were "*honesti et apti ad studendum*," and provided they had as Tutors either one of the Fellows or some other member of the College judged fit by the Principal, who would be responsible for their expenses and fines. Poor Scholars also, called

Battellers, were allowed to be admitted on giving some legal surety for their expenses, while to the Principal is assigned the right of admitting Servientes on similar conditions.

§ 2. THE STATUTES.

We learn from the statutes a good deal about the common life and studies of the College at this period. Besides the Principal, Vice-Principal and Bursar, the chief College officials were the Censor Philosophiae, always a Magister Artium, who combined the duties of a Modern Dean and Senior Tutor, though in disciplinary matters he was subordinate to the Principal and Vice-Principal; the Praelector Dialecticae, usually a B.A., who was the special tutor of the Scholars, and other undergraduate members; the Catechist, and the Seneschal or Moderator of the Hall, who had the charge of all victuals and commons, took care that the tables were properly provided, and made up a statement of the weekly accounts with the Bursar and Manciple after dinner every Friday.

The day began with Prayers in the Chapel between five and six o'clock, which were to be attended by every member of the College, with the exception of Doctors and Bachelors of Theology ("quibus tamen consulimus ut intersint"). On Sundays and Festivals a similar attendance was required between eight and nine and between four and five; while all were expected to accompany the Principal or Vice-Principal to the University sermons. Every evening in the week Prayers were again said at nine o'clock, attendance on the part of all being compulsory.

After Morning Prayers, at six o'clock three days every week the Praelector Dialecticae lectured to the Scholars and junior students on either the *Institutions of Porphyry* or the *Categories* or *Topics of Aristotle*, while on Saturdays at the same hour he exacted repetitions of the work done in the week. The Bachelors, whether Fellows or not, had similarly, at seven o'clock on three mornings in the week, to attend the lectures of the Censor Philosophiae, who lectured on some book of Natural Philosophy, such as Aristotle's *Physics*, or *de Caelo et Mundo* or *de Anima*, Saturday morning being given up to repetitions.

In addition to these lectures much time was spent in disputations. Every day in the week, except Festivals, two classes were held in Hall by the Praelector Dialecticae, one for juniors at ten in the morning, one for seniors at four in the afternoon, in which all "dialecticae auditores" had to dispute on "sophismata vel problemata Dialectica, Rhetorica, Physica aut Moralia." One of the number in turn and in order of seniority was to be respondent each day, while the rest were to put forward arguments in whatever order the Praelector might think best suited to test their knowledge and diligence.

The Bachelors had to assemble in Hall every Wednesday after dinner, and there, under the direction of the Censor, hold a disputation for two whole hours on two Themata selected either from Natural or Moral Philosophy, the respondents and opponents being assigned by the Censor. On Thursday and Saturday, immediately after dinner, the Bachelors and Scholars respectively were in turn to recite a declamation from

memory on some subject chosen by the Censor. Failure to perform this task was punished, in the case of youthful scholars, by the birch, in other cases by loss of commons or fine.

The main object of the College was said in the Charter to be "*ad finalem sacrae Theologiae professionem*," and accordingly the College studies and training could not be complete without a system of theological disputations, and these we find carefully provided for in the statutes. Once in every fifteen days during Term all Masters of Arts who had passed their Regency had to assemble in the Chapel, and there from six to eight o'clock in the evening "dispute" on some theological subject, all in turn, beginning with the juniors, taking the part both of respondent and opponent, and the subject of the disputation being affixed to the Chapel door some days in advance that the disputants might come prepared. But though only the senior members of the College actually took part in these disputations, all the Fellows, Scholars and Commoners, from the oldest to the youngest, were obliged to be present "*ut quae ad veram et sinceram religionem spectant saepius audiendo intelligant et memoriae commendent*."

All the younger members of the College, too, up to Bachelors of their second year, were required to attend the instructions of the Catechist on the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, Thirty-nine Articles, &c., in the Chapel at six o'clock every Thursday morning. Present members of the College will be interested to hear that the half-past one Roll Call on Saturday is a primæval institution. It was the duty of the Censor Philosophiae

to assemble all the students into Hall at one o'clock on Saturdays, and there to appoint monitors "ad delicta et errata singulorum Scholarium tum in Aula quum in Capella et alibi infra Collegium notanda." These reports were to be delivered to the Censor in writing, and he took steps at the "Correctiones"—as the function was called—in the following week to mete out due punishments.

Of course, in addition to the Lectures, Disputations and Declamations within the College, there were frequent University sermons to attend, as well as University disputations and Professorial Lectures, so that the time of the students was very fairly occupied as long as the statutes were rigorously acted upon. Nor had the vacations attained the proportions they have in modern times. With the exception of three weeks at Christmas, two weeks at Easter and one week at Pentecost, residence was required all through the year. Even the hour for dinner in Hall was not allowed to be given up to amusement or conversation. Portions of Scripture were to be read and listened to in silence both by the Fellows and the other students, nor was any conversation either in Hall or in the lecture-rooms allowed except in Latin, Greek or Hebrew, unless in the presence of strangers.

Before proceeding "ad gradum Bacchalaureatus," Scholars were required to spend four years in Dialectic, Rhetoric, Greek and Latin, nor were they allowed to apply for their Grace without satisfying the Principal and Fellows that they could construe St. Luke's Gospel in Greek, and write a summary of Aristotle's *Topics* or *Posterior Analytics* or *Elenchi*. As Bachelors they

were to spend three years more in the study of language, Natural and Moral Philosophy and Rhetoric, at the same time taking part in disputations and similar exercises. Before proceeding to the Degree of Magistri in Artibus, they were expected to produce a summary in Latin of some treatise in Moral or Natural Philosophy with a prefatory letter to the Principal in Greek. Masters, after passing their period of Regency, had to devote themselves to the study of Theology, proceeding to the Degree of B.D. seven years after their M.A., and four years later to the Doctorate of the Faculty.

Such was the course of study and discipline which the statutes laid down. That comparatively few, with the exception of the Fellows, would go through the whole course is obvious, but at least the scheme of study was a comprehensive one, and under efficient and active tutors quite capable of turning raw Welsh youths into the distinguished Scholars, Prelates and Statesmen which many of them became.

§ 3. PROGRESS OF THE COLLEGE UNDER SIR EUBULE THELWALL.

Great hopes were evidently entertained by the College of the advantages which would accrue to it from the election of Sir Eubule Thelwall, a man of wealth, influence and patriotism. As has been said, he was the first Principal from North Wales, and there was probably already a certain amount of jealousy in the College between natives of the two divisions of the Principality. James Howell, writing to Dr. Mansell at All Souls, says :

“ You have got yourself a good deal of good reputation

by the voluntary resignation you made of the Principality of Jesus College to Sir Eubule Thelwall in hope that he will be a considerable benefactor to it. I pray God he perform what he promiseth, and that he be not over partial to North Wales men."

There is no evidence that he showed any such partiality, though in the first year of his Principalship there is almost for the first time in the history of the College a larger number of matriculations from North than from South Wales. He is described as "a most bountiful person, who left nothing undone which might conduce to the good of the College."

"I have heard," says Wood, "his successor Dr. Mansell say that the College was about £5000 the better for him, & that he would have settled his whole estate on it, if he had not been disoblged by some persons, who were very active in opposing his intentions to place his successor."

One of the first things to be done was to complete the Chapel, which had been all but finished under Griffith Powell, and was in fact ready to be consecrated on May 28, 1621, by the Bishop of Oxford, "at which time Thomas Prichard, the Vice-Principal, preached the sermon on a text befitting that solemnity." Originally the east wall of the chapel must have stood somewhat back from the street, for in 1636 it was found necessary to lengthen the Chapel, bringing it level with the eastern part of the College. It was at this time that the "fayre east window" was put in, and the door of the Chapel moved farther to the west. There was still probably a certain amount of work to be finished off in the chambers above the Buttery and Kitchen, which,

being accomplished, Sir Eubule proceeded to complete the Quadrangle by building entirely at his own expense the Principal's Lodgings, "wherein he made a very fair dining-room adorned with wainscot curiously engraven."

But the College had still no Library, though it already had the nucleus of a collection of books and manuscripts. In particular Sir John Price of Portham in Herefordshire had recently given a valuable collection of manuscripts, chiefly theological, while William Prichard, one of the Fellows nominated by the Third Charter and Rector of Ewelme, had given twenty-eight volumes and £100 to purchase more. To provide a fitting accommodation for these and future acquisitions, Sir Eubule built a Library to the west of the Hall and in a line with the Lodgings, extending along the northern side of the present inner Quadrangle.

This Library seems to have been built over a kind of covered walk or colonnade, while above it there were chambers for servitors. Towards the building of this Library many liberal Benefactors came forward, whose names are recorded in the Benefactors' book. Among them we may note that "the Ladie Bromley, late the wife of Sir Henrie Bromley" gave £100; the Bishop of St. Asaph collected £42 from "some of the Cleargie" while many citizens and merchants of London, some of them, but by no means all, of Welsh origin, contributed liberally. When the building was finished, it had to be supplied with books, and here again we find "the names of such worthie Benefactors as contributed towards the furnishinge of this Librarie with books." Twenty names are given, many of them evidently personal friends of Sir Eubule Thelwall, and the amount

of their gifts is £200. Others, instead of providing money, gave books, *e.g.* :

“Lewis Roberts borne att Beawmaris in the countie of Anglizey and resident then at Constantinople as factor Anno 1624 sent thence for the use aforesaid these books :”—among them being a Tacitus, Suetonius and Tibullus, Catullus, and Propertius.

In 1626 the same Lewis Roberts, now “citizen and merchant Adventurer of London,” gave a number of other books, including the works of many of the Fathers.

§ 4. MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGE.

By the Third Charter the number of Fellows and Scholars was increased to sixteen, only eight of whom were named in the Letters Patent. The remainder were elected according to the statutes by the Principal and three of the eight Fellows on April 4, 1623, and from this time vacancies both among the Fellows and Scholars were regularly filled up as they occurred, and though by no means all the places were as yet provided for by special Benefactors, probably from this time payments were made at any rate to those in residence out of the common funds as far as these sufficed. The Register shows that College meetings at this time were attended sometimes by twelve or thirteen Fellows, rarely or never by less than seven or eight; while an entry on July 17, 1630, proves that the full staff of officials—Vice-Principal, Bursar, Censor, Logic Lecturer, Greek Lecturer, and Moderator of the Hall—were duly elected out of the Fellows.

Of the Fellows nominated by the Charter three at least were non-resident. Dr. Theodore Price, a native of Merioneth, was an ecclesiastic of some distinction, who was related to Williams, the Lord-Keeper, and may possibly have owed to this connection his selection as Fellow. He was Principal of Hart Hall from 1614-21, and was at various times Canon of Winchester, Lincoln, and Westminster. He was a strong supporter of Laud, who tried to secure him a Welsh Bishopric, and nearly succeeded. By Prynne he was denounced as "an unpreaching epicurean and an Arminian," and there were reports current that he died in 1631 "a reconciled Papist to the Church of Rome."

Dr. William Dolben was another connection of the Lord-Keeper, and he too, owing to the same influence, narrowly missed being appointed to the Bishopric of Bangor. For the last eight years of his life he was Rector of Stanwick, and so beloved was he by his parishioners that during his last illness they sowed and reaped his glebe-land for him at their own expense.

William Prichard, a native of Monmouthshire, had been a student of Christ Church and Proctor in 1595, and had since 1606 held the valuable living of Ewelme in Oxfordshire. We shall find his name among the Benefactors of the College.

Among the other Fellows elected under Sir Eubule Thelwall were John Littleton, Vice-Principal in 1633 and subsequently Master of the Temple; Michael Roberts, whom we shall hear of again as Principal of the College under the Parliamentary Visitors; Edmund

Stradling, a younger son of Sir John Stradling, of St. Donat's Castle, Glamorganshire; and John Ellis, a learned divine, the author of *Clavis fidei*, born in Merionethshire and formerly at Hart Hall, where he went through "with infinite industry the several classes of Logic and Philosophy." He afterwards held several church preferments, and according to Wood was one who had "sided with all parties and taken all oaths."

But perhaps the best known "alumnus" of the College at this period was James Howell, the versatile if somewhat superficial writer of the *Familiar Letters* or *Epistolae Hoelianaë*. Born in 1594 at Llangamarch in Brecknockshire, of which his father, also a member of the College, who matriculated as "verbi minister" in 1578, was curate, he was educated at the Hereford Free School, where Mansell, who was five years his senior, had also been, and matriculated in 1610 from Jesus College, where Mansell was three years only his senior, and Griffith Powell must have been his tutor. He graduated as B.A. in 1613, but may probably have remained in Oxford a year or two later. In 1616, however, he was sent to the Continent, and especially to Venice, by a Glass Ware Manufactory, to which he had been appointed Steward by Sir Robert Mansell, Vice-Admiral of the Fleet, in order to obtain material and workmen, and his travels during the next five or six years in this connection made him an accomplished linguist. We find him at this period corresponding both with Dr. Thomas Prichard, Vice-Principal of the College, and with Dr. Francis Mansell at All Souls. In a letter dated from Rome August 6, 1619, though

the real date must have been a year or two later, he writes to the former: "I pray, present my services to Sir Eubule Thelwall, and send me word with what rate Jesus College new walls go up." The "new walls" here alluded to must have been either those of the Principal's Lodgings, or those of the new Library west of the Hall. On his return from his foreign employment in 1621 or 1622 (he dates his letter March 5. 1621) he writes to Mansell at All Souls in reference to his resignation of the Principalship, and not very long after we find him writing to Sir Eubule Thelwall:

"Sir, I send you most due & humble thanks, that notwithstanding I have played the Truant, & been absent so long from Oxford, you have been pleased lately to make choice of me to be Fellow of your new Foundation in Jesus College, whereof I was once a member. As the quality of my fortunes and course of life are now, I cannot make present use of this your great favour or promotion rather: yet I do highly value it, & humbly accept of it, & intend by your permission to reserve and lay it by, as a good warm garment against rough weather, if any fall on me. With this my expression of thankfulness, I do congratulate the great honour you have purchased, both by your own beneficence, & by your painful endeavour besides to perfect that National College, which hereafter is like to be a monument of your Fame, as well as a Seminary of Learning, & will perpetuate your memory to all Posterity."

This statement with regard to the Fellowship is confirmed by an entry in the College Register under April 4, 1623, on which day the Principal and three Fellows met "in quadam camera inferiori intra hospi-

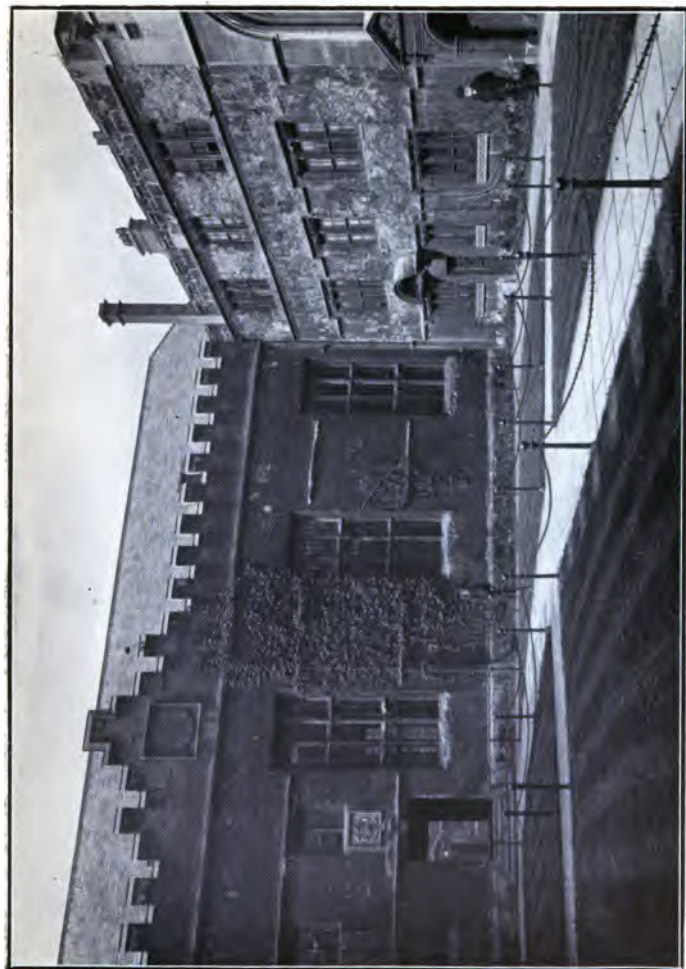
tium venerabilis et egregii viri domini Eubuli Thelwall militis Collegii Jesu Principalis" and proceeded "ad electionem octo sociorum et decem scholarium." Among the Fellows elected on this occasion were James Howells, senior, and James Howells, junior, the former of whom was the "historiographer." He seems never to have been admitted Fellow, and on December 2, 1626, his place was filled by the election of Walter Watkins. His subsequent career was unconnected with the College, though we find him in 1628 proposing to be present "at the Act," and he usually writes of Oxford as "his dearly honoured mother." His literary reputation undoubtedly reflects prestige on the College, and, if space permitted, many scattered references might be selected from his letters respecting many of its early members.

Among these was Thomas Howell, an older brother of James, and a contemporary of Mansell. Owing to some celebrity as a preacher, he was appointed one of the King's chaplains, and though regarded by many as something of a Puritan, he was successively Rector of West Horsley, Canon of Windsor and Rector of Fulham. On being expelled by the Parliamentary party, he was selected by the King to succeed to the Bishopric of Bristol in 1644, just when that important city was recovered to the royal cause. Within a year, however, Bristol was surrendered to Fairfax, and the royalist clergy were ejected. The Episcopal palace was pillaged, stripped of its roof over his wife, who was lying in childbed, and converted into a malt-house. His wife died, and the Bishop, never recovering from the treatment he received, succumbed the following year.

Hugh Lloyd, Bishop of Llandaff in 1660, is generally considered to have been a member of Jesus College about this time, but the documentary evidence is not entirely satisfactory. Wood states that he matriculated as a servitor of Oriel, and a Hugh Lloyd was admitted B.A. from that College in 1611 and M.A. in 1614. The statement that he was subsequently a Fellow of Jesus is certainly not correct. No such election is entered in the Register under Sir Eubule Thelwall, nor was he a Fellow in 1630, when Dr. Mansell's books begin. A Hugh Lloyd, however, from Jesus College was admitted B.D. in 1614, and D.D. in 1638, and this was probably the Bishop. During the Civil War he was ejected from his benefice of Llangadog in Breconshire, and suffered much for the King's cause. As a reward for his loyalty, he was made Bishop of Llandaff at the Restoration.

It was under Sir Eubule Thelwall that Rowland Vaughan of Bala entered the College, though he left without taking any degree. Like many of the contemporary gentlemen of Wales, he lived a life of leisured culture, translating for the improvement of his poorer countrymen such works as *Bailey's Practice of Piety* and *Archbishop Ussher's Catechism* into the Welsh language.

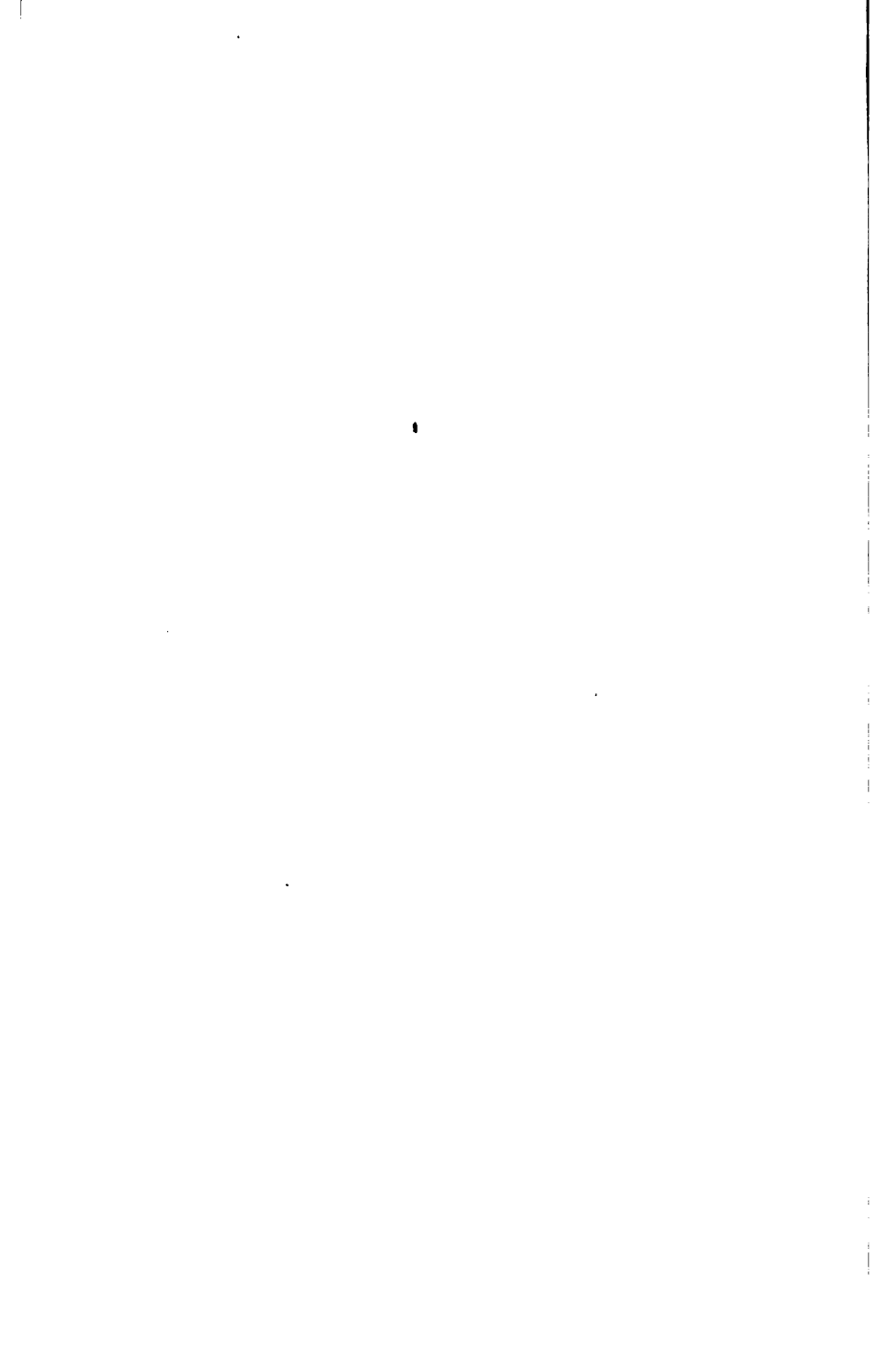
Several members of the Stradling family too, though apparently not the heads of it, were members of the College about this time. Edmund Stradling, a son of Sir John, was Fellow in 1625, while another son, Dr. George Stradling, afterwards Fellow of All Souls, "a rare lutinist, much valued by Dr. Wilson, the Music Professor," entered the College under Principal Mansell.



From a photograph by Ilce

THE OUTER QUADRANGLE

[Oxford Camera Club



Sir Thomas Salesbury, the first of the Denbighshire Baronets, was a Gentleman-commoner for some years. He was said to have "a natural geny to poetry and romance," and a *History of Joseph* in English verse in thirteen chapters (1635) marked him, in the opinion of some of his countrymen, as "a most noted poet of the time."

It is clear that Sir Eubule brought prestige and prosperity to the College. To a certain extent, no doubt, he entered into the labours of his predecessors. The statutes which Griffith Powell had struggled for so many years he got confirmed, and the chapel which Griffith Powell caused to be built* he saw actually consecrated, but his wealth, his reputation, and his influence raised the College to a higher position than he had found it in. He died in October 1630 and was buried in the Chapel. The fine marble monument to his memory, formerly in the southern side of the chancel arch, facing the west, unfortunately had to be moved in 1864 when the arch was widened, and is now out of sight in the chancel.

* It is only fair to notice a statement made in one of the Books of Benefactors that before Sir Eubule "came to be Principall in the time of his predecessor Mr. Powell, he layd the foundation of the Chappell, which shortly after he finished and furnished." This is the only allusion I can find to any connection between Sir Eubule and the College before his election to the Headship, but it is to a certain extent confirmed by the picture of Sir Eubule Thelwall in the Principal's lodgings, which represents him as the builder of the Chapel.

CHAPTER V

THE BENEFACTORS

WE have now reached a point in the history of the College at which it will be convenient to give a consecutive account of the Benefactions of the old Foundation. As we have seen, the original Charter allowed the College to receive from Benefactors £160 per annum, the second increased this to £200, and the third to £600. As the Principal was, by the statutes, to receive £40 a year, the Fellows £20, and the Scholars £10 each, the whole sum of £600 would be required to maintain the full number of sixteen Fellows and sixteen Scholars, besides paying the stipends fixed for the officers of the Society. During the whole of this period, however, the limit allowed by the statutes was never reached, and in spite of the energetic efforts made by Dr. Mansell, and the liberality and patriotism of many Welsh Benefactors, the College remained for the first hundred years of its history very poor.

1. The original Benefactor of the College, and in a sense its Founder, was, as we have seen, Dr. Hugo Ap Rice. In his will dated August 8, 1574, he says :

“I give and bequeathe to Jesus College, according to my promise in that behalf, sixty pounds by the yere for the exhibition of the Scholars there and maintenance of

the same house, and I will that the said summ of LX lands by yere shall rise and be supplied and performed with the obligations and evidences that Mr. Doctor Lewes and Mr. Doctor Aubrey have in their hands and custody of mine."

2. Dr. Griffith Lloyd, second Principal, bequeathed by his will (1586) to the College all his lands situated at Nantgunllo and Llandewy-Brevy in Cardiganshire after the death of his wife and daughter,

"to the finding of some Scholar of my own kin and blood for ever, and to no other use, of the body of my daughter and in default of such to the finding of some Scholar as long as any of the said daughter's children or kin or blood may be found."

These lands did not actually come to the College till 1615. In 1631, in the earliest Account-book, the lands brought in £15 14s.

3. In 1602 Dr. Herbert Westphaling, Bishop of Hereford, one of the Commissioners under the Second Charter, bequeathed to the College lands at Bache and Sidcombe in Herefordshire "for the finding and maintaining of two Fellows and two Scholars in the said College for ever, unto which Fellowships and Scholarships my will is that my kindred shall be always preferred before any others." These were the first lands that actually came into the possession of the College, and they produced at first £20 a year, a sum, it may be noticed, quite insufficient to provide the "places" contemplated by the Benefactor.

4. A few years later, in 1612, Owen Wood, Dean of Armagh, but a native of Anglesey, bestowed the sum of eight score pounds in money on the College, to which

his wife added £40 more, the money being paid through the Bishop of Bangor, to buy lands for the College "for the finding of a Fellowship and Scholarship . . . provided that some of my name near me in blood (if any such shall be thought fit) shall be preferred to the same places." To this money Principal Griffith Powell seems to have added £400 from the money of Dr. Price, and to have bought with it the estate at Dorstone in Herefordshire, bringing in about £20 a year. The Herefordshire lands, including Bache, Sidcombe and Dorstone, brought in £40 a year in 1631. A few years later, on payment of a fine of £120 paid by instalments within twenty-one years, the rent was reduced to twenty marks, at which sum it remained till the latter half of the eighteenth century.

5. In 1609 Dr. Henry Rowlands, Bishop of Bangor, a native of Carnarvonshire, gave to the College by Indenture lands and tenements at Eriannell in Anglesey to the value of £20 a year. "But the College," as Griffith Powell wrote, "is not yet to have the commoditie thereof," and his purpose was more definitely specified by his will in 1616. The College was to elect and receive from time to time two fit Scholars,

"the one from my School in Llŷn or the School of Bangor, the other from the School of Beaumaris in Anglesey to be Fellows of the said College . . . which upon the knees of my heart I doe pray and beseech the Principal of that College and the Fellows thereof to see performed ; and if there be any of my blood fit and capable for any of these places, when they be voyd, my will and desire is that they be chosen before all others."

These lands continued to produce about £20 a year till

1775, when the rent was raised. It must be noted again that neither this benefaction nor the last two were sufficient to maintain the number of Fellowships and Scholarships specified.

6. Thomas Reddriche, a native of Carmarthen town, executed a deed in his lifetime conveying to the College two tenements at Messing in Essex after his own and his wife's decease, to which in his will (1616) he added a rent-charge of forty shillings upon a tenement in St. Margaret's in Ipswich. The object of the benefaction was the maintenance of two Scholars from the county of Carmarthen. The property of Messing brought in about £8 at first, and never produced more than £20. It was sold in 1877.

7. Principal Griffith Powell completed his services to the College by leaving to it, by word of mouth—for he died without a will—his whole estate, amounting, as the inventory of his goods in the Registry of the Vice-Chancellor's Court shows, to £648 17s. 2d. This was to be laid out in lands for the benefit of the College, twenty marks a year being devoted to the maintenance of one Fellow, the first to be his own brother (who was, however, not elected). Sir Eubule Thelwall purchased with some of the money lands at Nannerch and Esteviock in Flintshire, which produced at first £18 6s. 8d. a year. The lands still remain in the possession of the College.

In Sir Eubule Thelwall's Principalship a number of fresh Benefactors came forward.

8. In 1622 Sir Thomas Canon, a native of Haverfordwest, gave by deed of gift a rent-charge of £10 per annum on his manor of Maen Clochog in Pembroke-

shire, one moiety thereof for a Catechism lecture, the other for a Sermon in the Chapel "to be preached by some one of the Divines of the College" every Thursday before the Act, and for the increase of the diet on that day of the members of the College. Up to quite recent times, this day has continued to be that of the College "Gaudy," the expenses of which, unfortunately, are no longer confined to the modest sum of £3 6s. 8d. set apart for this purpose by the Benefactor. The service in the Chapel, to be attended by all the Fellows and Scholars and students of the College, was to be

"an Anniversarie Eucharist or Thanksgivinge to God for the said pious beneficence in ffoundng, building upp and finishinge the said College and the endowment thereof."

9. In 1623 Dr. Richard Parry, a native of Ruthin, Bishop of St. Asaph, bequeathed a rent-charge of £6 a year on certain lands in Erbistock, Denbighshire, to be paid to a poor Scholar elected by the Principal and Fellows out of the Diocese of St. Asaph or the town of Ruthin. "And my will and desire is that one of my kindred and a minister's son be preferred before another (*ceteris paribus*)."

10. In 1623 William Prichard of Abergavenny in Monmouthshire, Rector of Ewelme and Fellow by the Third Charter, gave in his lifetime £100 for the purchase of lands, from the annual rental of which twenty nobles were to be paid to a Scholar appointed by the Benefactor during his life, and

"after his decease to such a one of his nearest kindred of the family of Richard ap David ap Howell Vaughan some-

time of the town of Abergavenny as shall be capable and fit for the same . . . and in defect of such to some other Scholar born in or near the town of Abergavenny being also fit for the same."

Lands were bought with this money at Llanganhaval in Denbighshire which brought in £4 a year.

11. About the same time Mrs. Mary Robinson of Monmouth, a London grocer's widow, bequeathed £500 to the Grocers' Company on condition that £25 every year was to be "paid and delivered unto four poor Scholars of Jesus College in Oxford at the nomination and appointment of the said Company of Grocers." The Scholars were to become Students of Divinity, and so "Preachers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ." In 1626 we find from the Register that Sir Eubule Thelwall complained to the Court of Assistants at Grocers' Hall that John Lloyd, M.A., one of Mrs. Robinson's Exhibitioners, was seldom resident in the College, and never did any exercise in Divinity, and had preferment elsewhere. In consequence of these representations, the Court being further

"informed that the Exhibitioners do for the most part spend the money with their friends in the country and that the College in respect of that allowance gives them credit for their battels and other necessities and is in danger to suffer loss by reason of their discontinuance and non-payment, it is agreed that from henceforth the Exhibitions are to be paid to the Principal for the use of the said Exhibitioners."

This has been the arrangement from that time to the present day.

Between the years 1625-28 three benefactions were made to the College in the form of sums of money with which land or rent-charges on land were to be purchased.

12. Dr. Oliver Lloyd of Montgomeryshire, Fellow of All Souls and Chancellor of Hereford, gave in 1625 the sum of £350, to be paid to the College by his nephew within two years after his decease, for the maintenance of one Fellow out of Wales at the rate of £20 a year at the least. The nomination of the Fellow was by the will strictly limited to the heirs male either of his brother or of other specified members of his family.

13. In 1628 Sir Thomas Wynne, a native of Denbighshire and a Captain of a Company of Foot in the Low Countries, gave by his last will £500 "towards pious and charitable uses," which his executors converted to the benefit of Jesus College.

14. In the same year Stephen Rodway, a citizen of London, descended on his mother's side from Denbighshire, bequeathed

"five hundred pounds of current English moneys, for the purchasing of so much lands withal, as may conveniently provide for the maintenance of one Fellow in Jesus College in Oxon."

The sum total of these three bequests, £1350, was invested by Sir Eubule Thelwall in the purchase of certain rent-charges on lands and impropriate rectories at Broad Stanney, Church Stanney, Wood Stanney, Teddington and Pebworth, in the county of Gloucester, and Malmesbury, in the county of Wiltshire—property

which for over one hundred and fifty years brought in regularly £80 a year.

To complete this transaction a tripartite agreement was drawn up between the executors of the three Benefactors on the one side, the owners of the purchased rent-charges on the second part, and the College on the third, which we find in the Register is confirmed and ratified by the College on March 5, 1629. By this conveyance, however, certain limitations were introduced not contained in the wills of the Benefactors. Thus the benefaction of Dr. Owen Lloyd was assigned to the maintenance of one Fellow from Montgomeryshire, that of Sir Thomas Wynne to the maintenance of one Fellow and one Scholar from the counties of Denbigh or Carmarthen, and that of Mr. Rodway to the maintenance of one Fellow and one Scholar from Denbighshire. In Principal Mansell's time the College considered that it was not bound in respect to these covenants, as "contrary to or beside the wills of the donors."

15. In 1630 Richard Budde, King's Auditor for the counties of Hants, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, bequeathed a rent-charge of £11 12s. on the manor of Culmenham in Oxfordshire and a "Prebend called Coursal" in St. David's, with all tithes thereto belonging, on condition that he and his heirs

"might have the placing of one Scholar to continue there by the space of 12 years and no longer . . . the said Scholar to have his diet and chamber in the said house at the charge of the said College and to have yearly of the College 20 shillings."

16. In the same year Sir John Walter of Ludlow, Prince Charles's Attorney and Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, bequeathed £1000 to the College. This money, we find in the Account Book, was received from Lady Walter by two of the Fellows, and was then transferred to Sir Walter Mansell, who in return settled on the College certain lands of his at Llan-derilog and Kidwelly in Carmarthenshire, of which the College granted him a lease for twenty years for a rent of £60. As no restrictions were laid down in the will, two of his nephews, already Fellows, were allowed to enjoy the greater part of the revenue for their time, but afterwards it was to be converted to the common benefit and advantage of the whole community. What arrangement was actually made with Sir Walter Mansell is not clear.* Possibly he retained the ownership of his lands on bequest to the College of a rent-charge of £60 per annum. If this was so, the arrangement was a very disadvantageous one for the College, for whereas its other lands have trebled or quadrupled in value, the £1000 given by Sir John Walter have never produced more than the original £60 a year.

17. In 1633 William Thomas, a native of Brecon, who had "got a great estate" as a mercer in the town of Carleon, in the county of Monmouth, bequeathed to the College certain lands and tenements situated at

* It appears from a memorandum in Principal Mansell's handwriting that these lands were not "simply and absolutely conveyed to the College but upon certain provisions and conditions." If Sir Walter died without male issue, the lands were to be the absolute property of the College; if not, the lands were to revert to his heir, and the £1000 to be paid to the College. The actual arrangement was some modification of this.

Llanvrechva, Llangattock juxta Carleon, and Christchurch, worth respectively £5, £8, and £7 6s. 8d. a year, "for the maintenance and finding of two Scholars in Jesus College in Oxon" (that is to say, to each of them £10). To these Scholarships were to be named first and before all others any of his own blood and kindred that should be found fit and capable of the places "according as the Statutes of the said College shall require, and in default of such, any of the County of Monmouth and in default of such any of the County of Brecon."

18. In 1633 William Robson left a large sum of money in trust to the Salters' Company, the interest of which was to be applied yearly to certain specified uses, one of which was the payment of £10 to Jesus College for two poor Scholars till they were Bachelors of Arts. From that time to this the sum has been regularly paid by the Company to the College.

In 1636, King Charles I., to a certain extent following in the steps of Queen Elizabeth, who had endowed a College in Guernsey in 1563, and wishing to reclaim the Channel Islands from the extreme Calvinism which characterised them, used certain properties which had fallen to the Crown by escheat for the purpose of establishing Fellowships at Oxford tenable by natives of the Islands. Of these he founded three, at Jesus, Exeter, and Pembroke respectively, the lands and tenements being held in trust by the University, and the proceeds paid annually by it to the Colleges. The property consisted of certain messuages in Lad Lane in the Old Jewry and of some farm land at Medmenham. The property has naturally largely increased in value, but the original share of Jesus College

was £36 6s. 8d. The first Fellows were named by the King, who appointed to Jesus Daniel Brevint of Jersey, who, as most of the Anglican ministers of the Islands had done up to that time, had received his University training at Saumur. Future appointments were to be made by the Deans and Jurats of the Islands.

20. About the same time Lewes Owen, a native of Anglesey and Serjeant of the Larder in the Court of King James I., bequeathed the remainder of his lands in Brentwood and Shenfield in Essex "for the yearly maintenance of two Scholars to be from time to time elected and chosen out of the Free Grammar School of Beaumaris," to be chosen out of his kindred, "if any be found fit from time to time." This bequest, however, was only to take effect after the death of William Jones, his sister's son; and after 1660 we find the lands bringing in £10 per annum. These lands were sold in 1877 along with the other Essex property.

21. In 1640 Mr. David Parry of Cardiganshire, who had for some years previously made annual gifts to the College, drew up an Indenture with the Principal and Fellows, by which "as well to the glory of God as for the better raysing of able and sufficient men to teach and instruct God's people in those parts of Wales which are not as yet soe well provided for" he assigned to the College "those two several Chappels called and known as Cappel Kilvowyr and Cappel Colman in Pembrokeshire" for the maintenance of one Fellow to be known as Mr. David Parry's Fellow. The Fellow was to be nominated from time to time by Mr. Parry or his heirs out of four Scholars of the College, "fitt and capable of the said Fellowship,"

whose names were to be sent in by the Principal and Fellows, such persons being (1) of kin to the Benefactor, or (2) natives of the counties of Cardigan, Carmarthen, or Pembroke. The first Fellow nominated by Mr. Parry was John Lewis, and the annual payment was to be £20. This benefaction does not seem to have remained permanently with the College; the payments were constantly in arrears, and in 1678 the College "conceived itself under no obligation in reference to it." It was not included in the scheme drawn up by the Trustees of Sir Leoline Jenkins, and after 1730 it entirely drops out of the accounts.

22. Dr. Thomas Gwynne, descended from an ancient family in Anglesey, Fellow of All Souls and Chancellor of Llandaff, settled on the College, owing to the influence of Principal Mansell, in 1648 the Improprate Rectory of Holyhead, of the proceeds of which one moiety was to go to the College, the other to be returned for the ministers and poor of Holyhead. This benefaction was intended for the maintenance of two Fellows and two Scholars, to be called "Dr. Gwynne's Fellows and Scholars." Preference was to be given in the first respect to his kindred, then to

"such inhabitants as are or shall be born in the County of Anglesey or within the Diocese of Llandaff as upon their examination by the said College shall be found equal with others then standing for the said Fellowships or Scholarships."

The value of this benefaction has, of course, varied at different times. At first it produced about £80 a year.

It will be remembered that by the third Letters

Patent the College was allowed to receive from Benefactors a clear £600 per annum. By the close of Principal Mansell's time this limit was far from reached. The benefactions numbered 17, and 21 were not actually received by the College till after 1660. The rest, when fully paid, which was not always the case, especially during the Civil War, amounted to about £300.

It will be convenient, though somewhat in advance of the point we have reached in the history of the College, to continue the list of Benefactors here up to the time when the College was practically re-endowed by the munificence of its second Founder, Sir Leoline Jenkins.

23. In 1661 William Backhouse of Swallowfield in Berkshire made over by Indenture to the College some lands and farms at Hurst, Sinsam and Abberfield in Berkshire, for the maintenance of two Fellows, to be called the "Fellows of William Backhouse of Swallowfield," who, "besides all other qualifications, sufficiencies and fitness for their years, their life and their learning required by the Statutes of Jesus College, shall be able at the time of their election thoroughly to understand and readily to speak the Welsh language." The lands produced at first £34 a year, but £55 after 1687.

24. In 1662 Dr. William Thomas,* formerly a Fellow of the College, "and Chanter of St. David's, together with the reverend Brethren of that Chapter, settled £30 a year out of the revenue of their Church for as long a time as the law will give them leave upon the College." The following extract from the *History of St. David's* illustrates this gift :

* See p. 95. He was Bishop of St. David's in 1668 ; of Worcester in 1683.

"It is satisfactory to be able to record a deed of the Cathedral Body which proves that even in their least satisfactory days they were ready to act collectively for the common good; . . . In 1662 they bound themselves for 21 years to pay an annual pension of £30 to Jesus College for the maintenance of one Fellow or two Scholars."

The benefaction was accepted by the College in the latter form, and as the Account Books show, was received till about the middle of the eighteenth century.

25. In 1664 the Bailiff and Commonalty of Bergavenny or Abergavenny in Monmouthshire received "a most gracious letter" from Charles II. requiring them to transfer to Jesus College the Improprate Rectory of Bedgeworth in Gloucestershire, together with all glebe lands, tithes and appurtenances. This Rectory had originally been the property of the monastery of Usk, and when, on the Dissolution, this was transferred to the Crown, was then by Letters Patent, granted by Henry VIII. to the town of Abergavenny for the purpose of maintaining the Free Grammar School, which dates from that time. Charles II., no doubt, on the initiative of Sir Leoline Jenkins, determined that the interests of the School should be made to coincide with the interests of the College. In accordance with his commands an Indenture was drawn up "for the purpose of establishing a perpetual commerce and allyance between the Bailiff and Commonalty and the Principal, Fellows and Scholars of the College." By this the Rectory of Bedgeworth was granted to the College on a lease of ninety-nine years, on the payment of an annual rent of £50 for the salary of the Schoolmaster, it being stipulated that if the

yearly value of the property should rise above £87, one moiety of the surplus was to be paid to the town. In addition to this the College was to elect and maintain one Fellow and one Scholar, "who from time to time should be distinguished and registered in the said College by the name of the Fellow and Scholar of Bergavenny, into which place, or either of them, none shall be capable to succeed or be elected but such only as shall be elected out of the School of Abergavenny, if any such be capable in respect of his learning and manners." Furthermore, the College was annually to "give and bestow between two Scholars of and in the School of Bergavenny as shall seem most hopeful and indigent the sum of ten pounds." To select these two Scholars, as well as to elect, in case of a vacancy, the Scholar in the College, the Principal and Fellows undertook

"at their own costs and charges to make a progress to the town of Bergavenny and visit the School upon the feast day of St. Michael the Archangel . . . according to the same way and method (as near as may be) as is used by the Visitors or Electors of the Schools of Winchester, Eaton & Westminster."

In the reign of William III. the Corporation of Abergavenny was deprived of its charter, and therefore legally the trust ceased. The College, however, continued for the rest of the ninety-nine years strictly to fulfil all its obligations. In 1760, to prevent the Rectory of Bedgeworth from reverting to the Crown in consequence of the forfeiture of the Abergavenny Charter, a joint petition was made to Parliament by the Town and the College, and an Act of Parliament

was accordingly obtained. By this the Rectory was vested for ever in the College in trust, on condition that it continued to elect the "Bergavenny Scholar and Fellow" as before, and that it paid £40 to the Master of the School and £10 to two Exhibitioners there. The Scholarship and Fellowship were filled up in accordance with the conditions laid down till the Commission of 1857, which removed all local restrictions within Wales; and the visitation of the School was kept up, as the Account Books prove, though not regularly every year, at any rate till well into the eighteenth century, and the money payment to the School still continues.

26. In 1665 Dr. Mansell died, and by his will bequeathed all his goods in trust to Sir Leoline Jenkins for the benefit of Jesus College. The property included the corps of his Prebend of Llangamarch in the Collegiate Church of Brecon, and also a sum of money which Sir Leoline Jenkins was to employ in the purchase of land. Another Prebend in the Church at Llandaff he had already settled on the College in 1648. From the two Prebends the College, after deductions and charges, received about £65 a year, while the land purchased in Glamorganshire—Myskin Farm—was calculated to yield £40 per annum at once and £40 more in reversion. As a matter of fact it brought in about £80 by the middle of the next century.

27. In 1681 Richard Bloom of Carmarthen town, formerly a Commoner of the College, left certain lands and houses within the borough of Carmarthen worth £30 a year, to come in seven years after his death, to the College, the employment of the property to be

decided by the Bishop of St. David's, the Principal, and several other persons. By their decision £20 was to be paid yearly towards the maintenance of three Exhibitioners and £10 towards a Greek Lecturer.

28. In 1686 an Indenture was drawn up by Rice Powell of Boughrood in the county of Radnor, in which, among other things, his trustees were directed to pay the annual sum of £24 to the Principal or Vice-Principal of Jesus College, to be shared equally between two undergraduate students of the College, his own kin having the preference; failing such, natives of the counties of Brecknock and Radnor; and failing them, natives of the Dominion of Wales. The payment does not appear to have been actually made till 1719, where it appears in the Account Books as a rent-charge on the Radnorshire estates of Sir Humphrey Howarth.

The accounts of 1687 show that at that time the net receipts of the College from Domus, *i.e.*, as distinguished from the estate of Sir Leoline Jenkins, was a little over £600 a year, the limit allowed by the Third Charter.

The examination of these benefactions shows that, as far as the intentions of the Benefactors went, endowments were provided for seventeen Fellows and twenty-two Scholars, and that the amount of the annual revenues for these places amounted roughly to £490 a year (Dr. Mansell's bequest not being included in this, since his gift was not expressly assigned either to Fellowships or Scholarships, though Sir Leoline Jenkins subsequently so assigned it).

Of the Fellowships, six, according to the actual testaments of the Benefactors, were entirely without

limitation; three others were limited to the Founder's kin, but failing this were open; the remaining eight were limited, two to districts in South Wales, three to Schools in districts in North Wales, two to those acquainted with the Welsh language, and one to the Channel Islands.

Of the Scholarships, six were open without restrictions, five were limited to Founder's kin, seven to South Wales, and four to North Wales.

The stipulation made by the statutes was that Fellowships were to be £20 a year, Scholarships £10, and that when the endowments of a "place" came to less than that amount they were to be made up to it from the general funds of the College. But out of these general funds had to be paid not only the Principal's salary (£40) and the salaries of the College officials, but also all the various disbursements which the management of estates entails. Thus in 1687, under the three heads of *Exitus Annui*, *Reparationes* and *Expensae Variæ* over £210 was accounted for. It is clear, therefore, that at present the College was not really able to maintain either the seventeen Fellowships and twenty-two Scholarships contemplated by the different Benefactors, or even the sixteen Fellows and sixteen Scholars specified in the Charter of James I. Nor was it found possible to do this until after the death of Sir Leoline Jenkins, by whose will the College revenues were increased by at least £700 a year. A comparison of the two following tables may prove interesting. Table I. shows the number of Fellowships and Scholarships intended to be founded by the Benefactors, their limitation, if any, and the amount of annual revenue in each case in 1687.

Table II. shows the results of the scheme agreed upon between the College and the Executors of Sir Leoline Jenkins, by which fourteen Fellowships and fourteen Scholarships were to be divided equally between North and South Wales, regard being had, as nearly as possible, to the original wishes of the Benefactors, while one Fellowship and two Scholarships were assigned to England, all the places, both Fellowships and Scholarships, being now of the proper value, viz., £20 and £10 respectively.

TABLE I.

BENEFACTORS	FELLOWS	SCHOLARS	LIMITATIONS	VALUE PER ANNUM IN 1687
Dr. Griffith Lloyd .	—	1	Founder's kin	£ s. d. 10 0 0
Bp. Westphaling .	2	2	Founder's kin	26 13 4
Dean Wood .	1	1	Founder's kin	
Bp. Rowlands .	2	—	Bangor, Llŷn, and Beaumaris Schools	13 6 8
Mr. Reddriche .	—	2	Carmarthenshire	7 0 0
Griffith Powell .	1	—	Open	10 0 0
Bp. Parry .	—	1	Diocese of St. Asaph	6 0 0
Dr. W. Prichard .	—	1	Kin or Abergavenny	4 0 0
Dr. Oliver Lloyd .	1	—	Open by will	
Sir Thos. Wynne .	1	1	Open by will	80 0 0
Mr. Rodway .	1	1	Open by will	
Mr. Budde .	—	1	Founder's kin	14 12 0
Sir John Walter .	2	2	Open	60 0 0
Serjeant Owen .	—	2	Beaumaris School	10 0 0
Mr. W. Thomas .	—	2	Kin, or Monmouthshire, or Brecknockshire	13 6 8
Dr. Thos. Gwynne .	2	2	Anglesey and Diocese of Llandaff	80 0 0
Mr. Backhouse .	2	—	Knowledge of Welsh	55 0 0
Chapter of St. David's .	—	2	Open	30 0 0
Commonalty of Abergavenny .	1	1	Abergavenny	50 0 0
King Charles I. .	1	—	Channel Islands	20 0 0

TABLE II.

BENEFACTORS	FELLOWSHIPS				SCHOLARSHIPS			EXTRA LIMITATIONS
	N. WALES	S. WALES	ENGLAND	CHANNEL IS.	N. WALES	S. WALES	ENGLAND	
Dr. Griffith Lloyd	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	With preference to kindred
(Bp. Westphaling)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>see below</i>
Dean Owen Wood	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Disregarded in the scheme
Bp. Rowlands .	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	With preference to Beaumaris, Bottwinnog, and Bangor Schools
Mr. Reddrich .	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	With preference to Carmarthenshire
Griffith Powell .	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	With preference to Carmarthenshire
Bp. Parry .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Disregarded in scheme
Dr. W. Prichard .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Ditto
Dr. Oliver Lloyd .	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	To be nominated by family
Sir Thos. Wynne	I	—	—	—	I	—	—	Preference to Denbighshire and Carmarthenshire
Mr. Rodway .	I	—	—	—	I	—	—	Preference to Denbighshire
Mr. Budde .	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	To be nominated by family
(Sir John Walter)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>see below</i>
Serjt. Owen .	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	Preference to Beaumaris School
Mr. W. Thomas .	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	Preference to Monmouthshire and Brecknockshire
Dr. Thos. Gwynne	I	I	—	—	I	I	—	Preference to Anglesey and Diocese of Llandaff
Mr. Backhouse .	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	Knowledge of Welsh
Chapter of St. David's .	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	Preference to Diocese of St. David's
Commonalty of Abergavenny .	—	I	—	—	—	I	—	Preference to Abergavenny
Dr. Westphaling and Sir John Walter	—	—	I	—	—	—	I	Preference to kindred
Dr. Mansell .	I	I	—	—	I	—	—	—
Sir Leoline Jenkins	I	2	—	—	I	—	—	—
King Charles I. .	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—

CHAPTER VI

THE COLLEGE UNDER DR. MANSELL .

§ 1. THE NEW PRINCIPAL.

ON the death of Sir Eubule Thelwall in October 1630, the Fellows proceeded at once, in accordance with the statute, to elect his successor, though the particulars of the election are not given in the Register. It is stated that Sir Eubule had his own views as to who his successor should be, and that, in consequence of his intention being opposed, he gave up his design of settling his estate upon the College. However that may be, the Fellows made a wise selection in appointing Dr. Mansell of All Souls, who ten years previously had resigned in favour of a richer and more influential candidate. Mansell is by far the most picturesque figure in the College history. Connected with the College from the age of nineteen, and three times elected its Principal, he devoted himself with an enthusiasm which was almost romantic to the promotion of its interest. A wise and constitutional, if somewhat arbitrary, administrator, an enlarger of its buildings, an indefatigable promoter of fresh benefactions, a liberal benefactor himself, both during life and by his will, he may with little exaggeration be said to have spent his life in and for the College. His lot after

the first ten years of his Principalship fell in stormy and troublous times. For a season the College was dispersed and almost non-existent, but "our Principall" even in exile and hiding never forgot its interests. Deprived of its Headship, he sought and obtained permission still to live within its walls, and finally, when for the third time he found himself its Principal, he renounced as an old man his recovered dignity and position with the same devotion to the College and to Wales which had induced him as a young man to make room for Eubule Thelwall—content to end his days a private member of the House of which in a very real sense he had been for a generation the revered and "Common Father."

Francis Mansell, born in 1588, was the third son of Sir Francis Mansell, Bt. of Muddescombe, Carmarthenshire. Another branch of the family was settled at Margam in Glamorganshire, the branch to which Sir Robert Mansell, Admiral of the Fleet, belonged. Educated at the free school in Hereford, where he was the senior by a few years only of James Howell, author of the *Familiar Letters*, he matriculated at Jesus College on November 20, 1607, when Dr. Williams was Principal and Griffith Powell was struggling for the statutes. In 1613 he stood for a Fellowship at All Souls "as Founder's kinsman," but, "that pretension being disliked, came in at the next election." At All Souls he remained, but for the brief episode already alluded to of his first Principalship, till 1630, whether occupied in tuition we know not, but apparently resident in Oxford.

On his second election to the Principalship he found

the College in an assured and increasingly prosperous condition. Many fresh Benefactors had come forward, not only from South but also from North Wales. There were at least ten or twelve resident Fellows, the College Quadrangle was completed, a Library built and partially furnished with books, and the numbers of students, and especially of Welsh students, considerable (there were about fifty in addition to the Foundationers in 1638), and drawn from all classes, high as well as low. For the annals of the College at this time we have but scanty materials, as the Register was taken away from the College for the perusal of the Visitors under the Commonwealth, and apparently never returned. On the other hand, the Bursar's current Computi begin with 1630, and furnish much interesting information, both with regard to the number and names of the Foundationers and various other details. Of the Buttery Books, a few are preserved from this period, that for 1638 being the earliest, but an unbroken series of them only begins with 1660.

From the first Dr. Mansell (he took his D.D. in 1624) threw himself with energy into the work (1) of perfecting the building of the College by the completion of a second Quadrangle, (2) of increasing the endowments sufficiently to allow all the sixteen Fellowships and Scholarships to be paid "places" in accordance with the intention of the statutes. Neither of these ends was he able entirely to achieve, but both he would undoubtedly have accomplished but for "the dispersions and ruines that by the war befell those who intended to be our Benefactors." Our chief information on all these points is gained from the *Life of Dr.*

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Mansell, written, as internal evidence conclusively shows, by his pupil and successor, Sir Leoline Jenkins. The Life was left in MS., one copy being in the College Library, another and more perfect copy in the Ashmolean Museum. The latter was printed for private circulation in 1854.*

§ 2. NEW BUILDINGS AND FRESH BENEFACTORS.

"The Buildings of the College," says the Life, "were enlarged within the same space of time beyond all hopes. For though our Principall had no friends, but that of his own zeale for such an undertaking, he began the Second Quadrangle, and pulling downe a ruinous Library that joynd the upper end of the Hall, he built the North and South pieces as the first halfe of the two Squares of this new Quadrangle by the contribution of his friends and his owne money."

In confirmation of this we find in the Benefactors' Book a list of "Sums of money given or promised by well-disposed Personages towards the Building of a second Quadrangle in Jesus College, Oxon., 1640." The list, however, which follows is confined to the clergy, almost all Welsh, of whom fifty-eight contributed over £800. No doubt the list was to have been supplemented by the names of laymen. Among the clergy we find such names as Dr. Morgan Owen, Bishop—Dr. Thos. Wynne, Chancellor—and Dr. Bassett, Prebendary of Llandaff; Rice Prichard, Chancellor of St. David's; Dr. Sheldon, Warden of All Souls; and many ex-

* Edited by the Rev. Edward Owen, Chaplain to the Queen's Forces in the Crimea, with notes by the Rev. W. Dyke.

Fellows, among them being Dr. Thomas Prichard, formerly expelled by Mansell in 1620. The two sides of the Quadrangle were probably completed by about 1640, the progress of the new buildings being marked by the increasing amount received for Chamber rent from 1635 up to that date.

Sir Eubule Thelwall's Library, now pulled down, had perhaps never been meant for a permanent building. At any rate its plan and structure, being built over a colonnade, would not have been in keeping with the rest of the College. The books in it were temporarily placed in the Chamber over the Kitchen and Buttery, which will be seen marked as the Library in Loggan's view. It was about this time that Dr. Oliver Lloyd's Law Library came to the College. With the enlargement of the Chapel in 1636, already mentioned, the cost of which was defrayed by a gift of Sir Charles Williams of Monmouthshire, the College buildings reached the stage represented by Loggan's view. To complete the Quadrangle a new Library was to have been built along the western side, and Sir George Vaughan of Ffoulkston in Wiltshire had "declared that himself would be at the whole charge of the west end," but his intention was frustrated by the outbreak of the war.

Of the Benefactors of the College, whom the solicitations of the Principal or love of Wales induced to come forward, some have been already mentioned in the last chapter. But the greater number had unfortunately not completed their final arrangements for settling their promised gifts upon the College when the war broke out. Thus Dr. Morgan Owen, Bishop of Llandaff, had

“declared that he designed the Rectories Improprate of Nevern in Pembrokeshire and St. Ishmael’s in Carmarthen-shire and other good and certain inheritance to the value of £200 a year to the College,”

and the Account Book shows that he actually gave £30 to the College for some years. But after his death his heirs refused to act upon his known and undisputed wishes, and the College lost this valuable benefaction. Similarly Sir Lewis Mansell had intended to impose a rent-charge of £50 a year for the College on his Lordship of Margam; and Sir Nicholas Kemeys to make over the Improprate Tithes of Llanissan and Llys-vaen. Both intentions were frustrated, the latter by the murder of Sir Nicholas in Chepstow Castle. Nevertheless, up to the outbreak of the war, both these and other gentlemen in Wales, such as Sir Edward Stradling, Sir Anthony Mansell, and Mr. David Parry regularly contributed sums varying from £20 to £50 a year; but in 1643 we find a note in Dr. Mansell’s very recognisable handwriting: “By reason of the bad condition of the times not any of these were payd.” The intention of one Benefactor was fortunately carried out, though after some delay:

“Only Dr. Gwynn’s next cousin and heire . . . being conscious of Dr. Gwynn’s kind intention to the College did after the Doctor’s death settle the Rectory of Holyhead in Anglesey . . . upon the solicitation of our Principall at the very time he had been turned out by the Visitation.”

Another small bequest may perhaps be mentioned, that of £200 by Lady Walters, “the proceeds and benefit thereof to provide a learned able minister to

preach every Sabaoth day in every year a sermon in the Parish Church at Wolvercote." The Accounts show that a Fellow discharged this office at Wolvercote regularly till 1733.

§ 3. MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGE UNDER DR. MANSELL.

Among the Fellows in the College when Mansell was elected was Dr. John Littleton, who was engaged in the active work of the College as Tutor, Bursar or Vice-Principal from 1624-38. He subsequently became Rector of St. George's, Southwark, and then Master of the Temple, from which he was ejected in 1644 for joining the King's army.

Another Fellow, Michael Roberts, originally incorporated from Trinity College, Dublin, will figure prominently later on. He was deprived of his Fellowship in 1637 for failing to take his D.D. within the time specified in the statutes.

One of the earliest elections under Dr. Mansell was that of Thomas Powell of Brecknockshire, who, after holding his Fellowship for a few years, became Rector of Cantrev, his native place. During the Civil War he suffered much for the royal cause, was deprived of his preferment, and "shipped himself beyond the seas for a time." On the Restoration he was made Canon of St. David's, and, as some say, was nominated by Charles II. to the Bishopric of Bristol, but in any case he died before the appointment was confirmed. "He was a person well versed in several sorts of learning, an able Philosopher, a curious Critick, was well skilled in various languages, and not to be contemned for his knowledge in Divinity."



From a photograph by the

THE INNER QUADRANGLE

Oxford Camera Club

He published translations from French and Italian, a work entitled *Elementa Opticæ*, with introductory verses by Henry Vaughan the Silurist, and left behind in MS. *Fragmenta de rebus Britannicis*.

Another Fellow elected about the same time, and destined to have a chequered but distinguished career, was William Thomas. Born at Bristol, but descended from a Carmarthen family, and attending the Grammar School of the latter town, then under the charge of Dr. Morgan Owen, he came to St. John's College, but was elected from thence to a Fellowship at Jesus in 1635, where for some years he was Logic Reader. Expelled from his living of Laugharne in 1644, he was reduced to keeping a private school during the war. Restored to his living in 1660, he was made Chanter of St. David's, in which position he persuaded the Chapter to make the benefaction to the College already alluded to; then Dean of Worcester. In 1677 he was made Bishop of St. David's, the only Welshman appointed to the See during the seventeenth century, with the exception of Dr. Lloyd, Sir Leoline's successor. He is described as "the one Bishop who during the whole of that period seems to have thoroughly identified himself with the interests of his diocese." He was a good Welsh scholar, preached in the language, and he was instrumental in publishing Rees Prichard's spiritual poems in 1670. It was perhaps a pity that he was promoted from so useful a sphere to be Bishop of Worcester in 1683. Here he impoverished his own family by his lavish hospitality. Though he had suffered much for the royal cause, he was not a supporter of Passive Obedience; he refused to distribute among his clergy

the Declaration of Indulgence in 1688, and subsequently refused to take the oath of allegiance to William of Orange, an attitude for which he would have been deprived but for his death in 1689. His portrait hangs in the College Hall.

Another of Dr. Mansell's Fellows was Dr. Daniel Brevint, the first of the Channel Islands Fellows, a very learned Divine and Theologian, who, having studied at the University of Saumur, was incorporated in Oxford, and elected at Jesus College in 1638. Ejected by the Visitors, and returning to France, he was restored in 1660, but soon promoted, first to a Prebend's Stall at Durham, and then to the Deanery of Lincoln. He was an able controversialist and the author of numerous theological works.

Other Fellows of the time were Henry Vaughan, afterwards Vicar of Panteg, Monmouthshire, and Tutor to Sir Leoline Jenkins; James Vaughan, one of the few Fellows who submitted to the Visitors, a compliance which did not prevent his ultimate ejection, and who was restored in 1660; Constantine Adams, appointed a delegate for the Visitors in 1647, and afterwards a Fellow of Magdalen; George Stradling, already mentioned, who, after being Fellow for just a year, was made a Fellow of All Souls in 1642.

Among members of the College not on the Foundation, the first place must be given to two remarkable twin brothers, Thomas and Henry Vaughan, who entered the College together in 1638. Descended from an ancient Brecknockshire family, they were born in the parish of Llansantffraid, and educated together by Matthew Herbert, the Rector of Llangattock. Their

careers, however, after entering Jesus College, were very different.

Thomas remained till he had taken a degree in Arts, was ordained and appointed Rector of his native parish. When the Civil War broke out, however, he was ejected by the Parliamentary Commissioners on the usual charges of "drunkenness, swearing and bearing arms for the king." He thereupon returned to Oxford, and then

"in sedate repose prosecuted his medicinal geny and at length became eminent in the chymical part thereof at Oxon and afterwards at London under the patronage of the noted chymist Sir Robert Murray."

He devoted himself to the writings of Cornelius Agrippa—

"Nature's Apostle and her choice high priest,
Her mystical and bright Evangelist."

Aristotle's Philosophy he regarded with more than Baconian depreciation "as altogether imperfect and false, a mere apothecary's drugg, a mixture of inconsistent contrary principles which no way agree with the harmony and method of nature." Wood describes him as "a great chymist, a noted son of the fire, an experimental philosopher, a zealous brother of the Rosie Crucian fraternity." His studies, however, seem to have been in alchemy and magic rather than in chemistry proper. He wrote an *Anthroposophia Theomagica* and an *Anima Magica Abscondita*, and when these were attacked as magic by Dr. Henry More, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, Vaughan replied in the *Man Mouse taken in a Trap and tortured to Death*

for gnawing the Margins of Eugenius Philalethes. This was the title under which all his works were produced. In 1655, after accompanying Sir Robert Murray to Oxford, when the Court was compelled to resort there owing to the Plague in London, he went to reside with the Rector of Albury near Thame, where he died "when operating strong mercury, some of which by chance getting up his nose killed him."

His brother, Henry Vaughan, called the Silurist from his birthplace in the region once occupied by the Celtic tribe of Silures, has a truer title to remembrance if not to fame. Leaving Oxford without taking a degree, but after "spending two years or more in logicals under a noted tutor," he was "designed by his father for the knowledge of the municipal law at London." But when the Civil War broke out he was sent for home, and henceforth "followed the pleasant paths of poetry and philology." Not, however, at once it would seem, for he, like his brother, suffered for the royal cause, and was even in prison, together with Dr. Thomas Powell. To gain a livelihood, he had turned his attention to medical pursuits, and finally retired to practise the profession at Brecon. His first book of poems, entitled *Olor Iscanus*—the Swan of the Usk—was written by 1647, but was published four years later, not by himself but by his brother. The poems were not of a strictly religious character, and appended to the volume were some translations from Greek, Latin and Spanish, two of them from Plutarch. The character of his later poetry was determined for him by a severe and lingering illness, during which "more deep and solemn religious views and feelings broke in upon his soul than any he

had before harboured." At the same time he became acquainted with the writings of George Herbert, and determined "to make the compositions of that holy man his own future models." The result was a volume entitled *Silex Scintillans*, or *The Bleeding Heart*, published in 1650, a collection of sacred poems and private ejaculations. In the preface he declares that these are a protest against the vicious verse, the romances and translations of foreign vanities with which the people were so plentifully furnished. Another volume, published some years later, collected in his sickness and retirement, was called *Flores Solitudinis*. These poems were little appreciated by the tasteless and godless generation for whom Vaughan wrote, and they have been generally neglected since. Many of them will compare, and even favourably, with the poems of the more famous George Herbert, and *Olor Iscanus* is certainly an alumnus of Jesus College, not to be passed over in silence. He died in his own country in 1695.

Humphrey Lloyd belongs more properly to Oriel, of which he was a Fellow and Tutor for some years from 1631. He matriculated, however, from Jesus in 1627. He was a native of Merionethshire, and after many preferments and some vicissitudes during the Civil War, was made Bishop of Bangor in 1673. He was a pluralist, conspicuous even in those times, and had a special faculty for accumulating sinecure Rectories. His rise in the Church was mainly due to the patronage of Archbishop Williams, whose chaplain he had been.

It has often been stated that Archbishop Ussher was a member of Jesus, and also that he resided at various times in the College. Both statements may be true.

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The Archbishop undoubtedly took a deep interest in Welsh, as a sister tongue to Irish, and may well have wished to increase his knowledge of it by residence in the Welsh College on one or more of the occasions in which he lived at Oxford. That he had some interest in the College is shown by a letter of James Howell, who writes to the Archbishop in 1639: "Your learned work, *De Primordiis Ecclesiarum Britannicarum*, which you were pleased to send me I have sent to England, and so it shall be conveyed to Jesus College in Oxford as a gift from your Grace." On July 24, 1626, Ussher was incorporated D.D. at Oxford, "at which time," says Wood, "he lodged in Jesus College." In June 1640 Ussher writes to a correspondent from Oxford that he is searching for a Syrian copy of the *Epistles of Ignatius*. In this year, indeed, we learn from Twyne that the Archbishop "was at Oxford all the long vacation";* and there seems to be a definite ground for supposing that Ussher did during that time reside in Jesus College, though it may be true, as Carr states in his Life (p. 325), that at first he took up his quarters in Christ Church. In the Buttery Book for 1640 Jacobus Armaghani appears immediately after the Foundationers for the first time in the twelfth week of the Term beginning with the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary—i.e., about June 10, and it remains on the books regularly till the end of the year. This would seem to show that Ussher was resident in the College during that time, and though he does not appear to have batted, that may be, as Mr. Andrew Clark suggests, either because he took his meals at a

* Wood, *Life and Times*, vol. iv. p. 258.

restaurant, or had his score entered to his host, either the Principal or one of the Fellows. In the Buttery Books of 1641 and 1642, though Ussher was certainly in Oxford in the latter of these years, his name does not occur. From 1642-51 the books are missing, but in 1652, under the Visitation, his name regularly occurs, but without entries for battel, as *Jacobus Usserius Arma-ghanus*. That is really all that I have been able to discover on the point.

Carr states that in 1645, at the time when Convocation decreed that a portrait of the Archbishop should be executed at the expense of the University, Ussher was resident in Jesus College, pursuing his studies. The College was, however, at that time a very unfit place for study, being occupied, as will be seen, by soldiers and officers, and the statement is therefore improbable. Whether the entry in 1652 points to any visit paid by Ussher to Oxford, or whether his name was kept on the books out of compliment, as Monmouth's was at Corpus, it is hard to say, but in the latter case its absence in 1641 and 1642 would present a difficulty.

Space will only allow reference to one more member of the College belonging to this period, Vavasour Powell. In contrast with most members of the College, he was a Puritan, and a fanatic against the episcopacy. A member of the Baptist body, he travelled about as an itinerant preacher, and after 1646 took a leading part in carrying out the "Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales," ejecting and, as his enemies say, persecuting the loyal clergy. A republican and a Fifth Monarchy man, he had the courage of his opinions,

* Fowler, *Hist. of Corpus*, p. 244.

remonstrating with Cromwell on his assumption of the Protectorship, and suffering imprisonment in consequence. After the Restoration, he refused the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and was thrown into the Fleet, where he died in 1670.

§ 4. THE COLLEGE IN THE CIVIL WAR.

The Civil War breaking out in 1642 effectually put an end to the progress it had been making under Dr. Mansell's fostering care. The Principal himself was at the time

"in the country soliciting the settling of the Benefactions above mentioned, and his return to Oxon was delayed, the passage being unsafe till the depths of winter 1642.* Only he had the solace of a good company during this his exile (for so he esteemed it) though in his own country; for Dr. Frewyn late Lord Archbishop of York and Dr. Sheldon now the most honoured Lord Archbishop of Canterbury being forced to leave Oxon by the approaches of the enemy were retreated into Glamorganshire, and sojourned for several months at Sir Anthony Mansell's the Doctor's brother's house; where their presence among the gentry had the happy influence of confirming them in their duty to the king and aversion to the rebels."

Meanwhile the College was "dismantled into part of a garrison." Fellows and students with very few exceptions dispersed, many of them joining the king's armies. After the battle of Edgehill in October 1642 the king led his infantry to Oxford, and when he advanced upon Reading left in Oxford a sufficient force to hold the city. From November of that year the

* *I.e.*, by Lord Say's occupation of Oxford for the Parliament in 1642.

fortification of the place was vigorously pushed forward, the members of the University entering with zeal into this business and contributing towards it both with their labour and money. The following entries in the Account Book under the head of "Extraordinary Expenses peculiar to the time" in Principal Mansell's handwriting, "for there was no Bursar in all that time," give a fair idea of the state of things.

Put uppon Domus by Mr. Evans for Bread and Beere to the Kinges Souldiers at their first cominge to Oxon from Edgehill	01.02.00
Payd by him the Taxe layd uppon the Coll. towards the Works from the beginning of it to the 28th of January 43	03.16.00
More by him for Musquets, Pikes and the like	03.14.00
Given by him to the Prince his Trumpetters	00.10.00
Payd by me towards the workes before mentioned from the 28th of Jan. to the 27th of Feb.	01.17.06
More from the 27th of Feb. to the 28th of April	01.04.00
Given bye his Ma ^{ties} motion towards the releife and curinge of the maymed Souldiers in and about Oxon	02.00.00
Payd by Pole after 12d a head every week for all of the Coll.* towards the Fortifications in Xst Church Meade from the 17th of June to the ende of July	02.11.00
Payd uppon his Ma ^{ties} motion towards the Maintenance of his Foote Souldiers for one monthe after fower pounds by the weeke	16.00.00

* This proves that only about eight members of the College were resident at the time.

Naturally the College tenants took advantage of the time to withhold their rents. Under the head of Rent Charges in 1643 we find "None of them payd in this yeare"; under that of "Guifts," "Also by reason of the said condition of the times not any of these were payd"; while as for Chamber Rent, "There were none at all asked or payd by any in this yeare."

But if there were few students in the College, there were residents of other kinds.

"The Colleges were much out of repair," says Wood, "by the negligence of soldiers, courtiers and others that lay in them, a few chambers that were the meanest (in some Colleges none at all) being reserved for Scholars' use."

While the Fellows resident during this time had to take their meals in the Buttery instead of the Hall, the greater part of the College was occupied with "persons of quality that were come out of Wales on the King's service," such as Lord Herbert, since Marquis of Worcester, "lodgers who made use of the kitchen and all things in it": soldiers who had to be entertained with "bread and beere, and damaged and deranged the doors, locks and keys"; officers like Major Bushey, Major Thomas and Captain Sutton, who "contracted debts for bread and beere out of the Buttery."

Two of the king's supporters died in the College at this time. One was Sir Edward Stradling, the elder brother of Edmund and George, and a Colonel in the king's army, who was buried in the College Chapel on June 21, 1644; the other was Lord Grandison, who was wounded at the taking of Bristol in 1643, and "dyed in Jesus College of the fever" on September 29.

He was accompanied to Oxford by Lady Grandison, who apparently stayed in the College after her husband's death. In the Account Book for 1643 we have an item under Extraordinary Expenses: "A debt for the Lady Grandison for Bread and Beere, &c., had by her out of the Buttery 13:15:02," and in a later year, "More debt contracted by the Lady Grandison, etc., 10:17:02:" Under President Roberts we find £3 charged for "a journey to Bedfordshire and thence to London in quest of the Lady Grandison about the debt owing to the Colledge."

At the close of 1642 Dr. Mansell, longing to return to his College, "did run a considerable risk of being taken in his journey, though it was from Worcester to Oxon, in the rear of the king's army." In the following September, however,

"he was arrested with the sad newes of his brother Sir Anthony's decease, who fell with all the circumstances of signall Piety and Vallor in the first Newbury fight. This calamity so deeply affected our Principall that he fell into such a fitt of sicknesse that his life was (for some time) despaired of. But God Almighty reserving him for the five orphans that Sir Anthony Mansell left behind him, he was forced to take a journey into Glamorganshire in order to settle his Brother's affairs, where to shew his zeale for, and faith in, the goodness of the King's cause, he lent all the ready money (which was above £1000) that his brother left behind him to the Commissioners of Array for the King's affaires. . . . Upon this he took occasion to confirme the Gentry that were most of them his relations against the insinuations of the Parliament-party (then visibly but not fatally prevailing till after Naseby fight) he

watchfully laying hold of all opportunities by his Counsells and Correspondencies and singular example to promote the King's service in that County. And as the county of Glamorgan happened to be one of the last that became subject to the Rebels, so it was the refuge of many persons of quality that came for shelter to their Persons and Consciences there, when the Parliament had driven them out of their own homes. And 'twas prodigious to observe how careful he was for the accommodation and supply of such persons, since it may be truly averred that there was no stranger of quality, military or civil, Clergy or Lay either in that or the neighbour counties of Monmouth or Carmarthen who did not either receive a supply of ready money at his hands, or else an affectionate tender of such supply or of any other service."

That Jesus College under so loyal a Head would be at least as ready as the other Colleges to give up its plate to the king's service, goes without saying, and it is stated by Bishop Tanner "that the amount of plate given up by the College amounted to 86 lb. 11 oz 5 dwt."

* Cited in Wood, *Life and Times*, vol. i. p. 94.

CHAPTER VII

THE COLLEGE UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH

§ 1. THE VISITORS.

THE surrender of Oxford to Fairfax took place on June 24, 1646, while Dr. Mansell was still absent in Glamorganshire. By the terms of surrender every College was to retain "its statutes, charters and customs and enjoy its ancient form of government, subordinate to the immediate authority and power of Parliament." This qualification was no mere form of words. On May 1, 1647, an Ordinance was passed in Parliament "for the Visitation and Reformation of the University of Oxford, and the several Colleges and Halls therein"; and at once the twenty-four Visitors were appointed with directions

"to enquire by oath . . . concerning those that neglect to take the Solemn League and Covenant . . . and that oppose the execution of the ordinances of Parliament concerning the discipline and the Directory."

The University prepared itself for a stubborn resistance, and for several months the Visitors made little progress with their commission. A Delegacy was appointed by Convocation to deal with the Visitors, and "Reasons of the University" were drawn up "for objecting to the

tests about to be imposed upon them." This was followed by an "additional ordinance" sent to the Visitors empowering them

"to administer the Solemn League and Covenant . . . to read the books, statutes and accounts, to imprison the contumacious . . . to employ a Register, and other officers, and to demand aid from Sheriffs, Mayores, etc."

Armed with this authority the Visitors proceeded to summon the Heads of College to send in their statutes, books and accounts. In most cases the Heads were contumacious; even if they appeared when summoned, they brought no books, and in the spring of 1648 the Chancellor—the Earl of Pembroke—himself appeared on the scene: soldiers were sent to Oxford by command of Fairfax, but every College was held as a fortress, each to give way only to force. In April the contumacious Heads were expelled and intruders were put in their places, after which the various Colleges were reorganised one by one, the members of each in turn being cited to appear before the Visitors.

After this brief explanation of the general position of things, we must confine ourselves to the part played by Jesus College, and there were few colleges that gave the Visitors more trouble than this small body of loyal and resolute Welshmen led by a Principal who had identified himself in no ordinary way with the cause of the Church and King in South Wales. As soon as Mansell heard of the Visitation in Oxford,

"he hastened away from Wales to his station there, and though the Earle of Pembroke (who was chiefe in the action) own'd our Principall as his near kinsman, and had

a favour to the College as the natural Visitor thereof by Charter, and though the Earle's two younger sons who had lived for severall years Commoners in the College under our Principall's charge, offered him their service with all affection possible, yet neither the Propensions of the Earle, nor the kind offices of his sons, could bring our Principall to frame himself to any the least evasion, much less to the direct owneing of that Power; but when his turn came, he published his non-submission with that excellent mixture of modesty and courage, as made his Visitors ashamed of their Reformation, and openly to bemoan the difficulty of the times that forced them to turn out a person not onely in his life and conduct unblameable even to the highest rigor and partiality (his adhering to the King, which was his only crime, excepted) but so highly useful to the College he related to, that they seemed (in their Confession) to take from it the onely Stay and Pillar that was likely (as the Times then went) by his prudence, interest and zeal to preserve it from utter ruine and desolation."

What took place we gather from an ordinance of "the Committee of Lords and Commons for the Reformation of the University of Oxon," dated May 22, 1648:

"Whereas it appeared to this Committee and accordingly was resolved that Dr. Francis Mansell was guilty of high contempt and denyall of authority of Parliament, and for an effectuall remedy thereof it was alsoe resolved that the said Dr. Mansell be removed from being Principall of Jesus College . . . and that Mr. Michael Roberts be Principall of the said College. It is ordered that Mr. Roberts be, and hereby he is constituted and established Principall of the said College."

Nearly at the same time, on May 18, 1648, the members of Jesus College were summoned before the Visitors and required to answer the question, "Do you submit to the authority of Parliament in their present Visitation?" These are some of the answers:

John Hughes: "Seeinge I have not so large a conscience as to entertaine everie cruditie of Doctrine: Bee it knowne unto you, that I will not (were it to save my life) nor can as a member of this Universitie, or as a Student of Jesus College, acknowledge this present Parliament, much less submit thereto, nor to your pretended authoritie as derived from them."

Phillipp Flower: "I dare not condemn myself to receive a portion with hypocrittes in yeldinge upp (as I cannot obtaine sufficient reasons yet to judge otherwise) my conscience and rightfull liberties to the present demanders of my submission."

Tho. Ellis: "After a seriouse and diligent consultation had with my owne conscience, I have at length pitched upon this resolution, that I cannot submit to this your Visitation without the hazard of shipwrackinge of my soule: how pretious a thinge that is to everie man, I need not insist to tell you."

Peter Meyricke: "I cannot with a safe conscience, neither will I upon any condition, submit to this Visitation, seeing the authoritie thereof is not derived from his Majestie."

James Vaughan: "I James Vaughan, Fellow of Jesus Colledge, am not otherwise convinced in judgment than to conceive this Visitation legall and therefore doe submit to the present Visitors."

With the exception of James Vaughan, only one

other Fellow seems to have submitted, viz., Constantine Adams, the Vice-Principal, who was chosen one of the Delegates to the Visitors. His services were soon rewarded by a Fellowship at Magdalen. With these two exceptions, all the Fellows seem to have been deprived of their Fellowships, the vacant places both for Fellows and Scholars being filled up in October 1648.* It was not, however, without resistance that the new Foundationers were "intruded" upon the College. On October 13 there was an order

"That the Provost Marshall of the Garrison of Oxon attend the Fellows elected unto Jesus Colledge by authority of Parliament to take possession of their several chambers in the said Colledge according to their seniorities."

Wood † gives a few further details :

"Whereas there had lately been some trouble in Jesus College about placing and settling the new comers there, it was ordered by the Visitors that the Provost Marshal of the Garrison attend the Fellows elected into the said College to take possession of their respective chambers according to seniority, which the next day was accordingly done, and several doors broke open."

§ 2. DR. MANSELL IN RETIREMENT.

It is not clear that the intruders even after this were in complete possession of the College, for in the following March we find an order

* Burrows, p. 177.

† *Annals*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 610.

"that Dr. Mansell doe forthwith give up the keyes and seales and what other things he hath in his handes that belong to Jesus College into the hands of Mr. Roberts the Principal of the College, and also that Dr. Mansell doe make his accounts to the Principal which doe concern the College within 14 daies."

A month later it appears that this order had not been obeyed. But if the Doctor was slow in obeying the Visitors, it was not his own interest that he was consulting.

"While the Reformers," writes Sir Leoline Jenkins, "were buisy in turning out of him and his Society, he was as active as if no such thing had been, in settling the possessions and ascertayning the future Revenewes of the College with all the application possible, nay in ordering new accessions from himself and others to the succeeding Intruders, for it was in that juncture that he procured that noble legacy of Books which the Right Honorable and most Learned Lord Herbert of Cherbury* gave to the College; it was then that he obtained from the Heir of Dr. Thomas Gwynne to settle the Rectory Improprate of Holyhead in Anglesey upon the College; it was then that he conveyed (as far as in him layd) the Corpses of his two Prebends . . . it was then that he by a rare example being cast out of his beloved College left behind him in it his owne Library which was a very compleat one and suitable to his great and universall knowledge, whether we consider the choice or the number of Books, there being in it nothing but that was fitting for a great Theologue to be

* In the Library Accounts for the period 1644-48 is the following item: "The whole charge of carriage, mayking, naylinge, and the like at London and here in Oxford of the Bookes lately given the College by my Lord of Cherbury, £6 14s. 0d."

furnished with either in order to ancient Learning or modern Controversy. . . . Being ejected out of the Headship which was not actually done by order of the Visitors till May 1648, he applied himselfe to state all Accompts between him and the College and having delivered the muniments and goods that belong to it to the hands of the Intruders, he withdrew into Wales."

The latter statements receive interesting illustrations both from the Accounts for the years 1643-48, and from a separate book containing a copy of the Accounts for the last five years and an Inventory of all the College property handed over to the new Principal. The Accounts for the years 1644-48 made out in Mansell's own handwriting in the last named year show the following result :

"The totall of all dues to the College as before set downe	2409.	4.	8
"The totall of what hath been received .	1063.	8.	9
"The totall of what hath been disbursed .	1515.	3.	6
"Remayninge due to the Accomptant what he hath disbursed over and above what hath been received	451.	14.	9
"Remayninge to the Coll. what all the dues doe exceede the Disbursements except what already hath bin, or may hereafter be thought fit and reasonable to allowe the Tenants towards Rates, Contributions, free Quarters and other the like suffer- ings	896.	1.	2

"Fra. Mansell."

The Inventory contains :

(1) A perfect and entire Catalogue of all the books belonging unto Jesus College in Oxford.

This is divided into three portions.

- (a) A catalogue of Books belonging of old unto the Library of the said College—about 500 works including the Price MSS.
- (b) A catalogue of the Bookes bestowed upon the said College by the Right Honourable Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury—about 900 works.
- (c) A catalogue of bookes given to the College by Dr. Mansell, Principall,—about 450 works.

At the end of the catalogue, dated May 29, 1649, we find "At this time I took into my charge and custody all the sayd bookes here set downe in two and forty pages of paper. Michael Roberts."

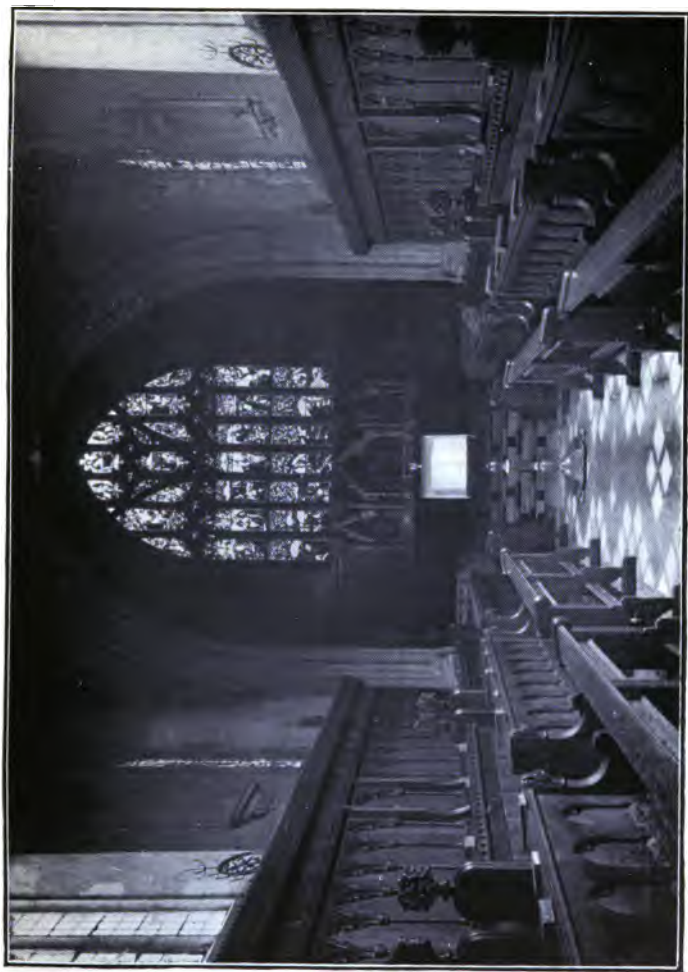
(2) An inventory of all goods belonginge to Jesus Coll. Oxon taken in Febr. 1648.

This contains :

- (a) A list of the Letters Patent, Deeds, Indentures, Registers, etc., belonging to the College.
- (b) Other goods of the College, containing a list of the furniture, hangings, carpets, wainscoting, etc. chiefly in the Principall's Lodging. The following note is significant.

"The Principall had more household stuffe in his Lodging, but most of it hath bin lost by ye meanes of the strangers who lodged in and had the use of it for Divers Yeares."

A formal receipt of all these things is signed by Michael Roberts on May 16, 1649.



From a photograph by thec

INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL

[Oxford Camera Club



These matters settled with the College, Dr. Mansell

“took up his residence at Llantrythyd, a house of his kinsman’s Sir John Auberey’s Knt. and Baronett, which house Sequestration having made desolate, while Sir John was in prison for his adherence to the king, afforded him the conveniency of a more private retirement and of having severall young Gentlemen of Quality, his kindred under his eye, while they were taught and bread up by a young man of his College that he had chosen for that employment.*

“But this retirement (which he was very well pleased with) lasted not long undisturbed by the Rebell Souldiery that Quartered upon the country under Major General Buttler (as men then called him). For the Doctor’s very grave and pious aspect, which should have been a protection to him among Salvages, was no other than a temptation to those (who reputed themselves Saints) to act their insolencies upon him. Once meeting him in his walke, they took him for an old priest (as they called him) and searched his pockett for Letters: another time they came to Llantrythyd House, and a barbarous crew of them, not contented to deride him openly to his face for his Canonick Habit (which he constantly wore) and for his using the Liturgy in Publick twice a day, which he never omitted, among the young Schollars in the House, they fell a-searching for Common-Prayer books and finding about a dozen of them in the Parlour where he used to officiate, they pleased themselves hugely with making one blaze of fire of so many books: but, which was yet more barbarous, they layd hands on his person, and one Clements a Farrier (by trade) but a Preacher by Profession, ript and toare his Canonical Cassock about him, that it dangled

* Viz., Leoline Jenkins, afterwards Principal.

from his girtle downewards in so many small threads or thongs as made them greate sporte."

They then

"carried away the Young Man prisoner for the better dispersing of his schollars, which was a Reformation they principally aimed at in this affront upon the Doctor. And the Young Man being soon after endited at the Quarter Sessions 'for a seminary of rebellion and sedition,' he was forced to forego his Country, and at the Doctor's direction removed with his schollars to Oxford, where he settled at Mr. White's Town House. This was in May 1651, and our Principall followed September after, partly out of a longing to be near his beloved College, and partly out of a regard to the young schollars who settled at Mr. White's."

§ 3. DR. MICHAEL ROBERTS PRINCIPAL.

Meanwhile the College was under new government. On Dr. Mansell's departure no further obstacle remained in the way of the new Principal and the intruded Fellows. Dr. Michael Roberts, for he took his D.D. in April 1649, had been originally a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. Incorporated at Oxford in 1624, he had been elected a Fellow of Jesus College under Sir Eubule Thelwall in 1625, and from that time seems to have been continuously resident in the College, filling the office of Bursar in 1631, though apparently he never held any teaching office in the College.

In 1637, however, he was removed from his Fellowship "upon a statute of the College for not taking his Degree of Doctor within the time therein limited," and

he apparently left Oxford for the living of Llangynwyd in Glamorganshire. Whether he was summoned by the Visitors to the Principalship from there, or whether he had previously returned to Oxford, is uncertain. Of his character and fitness for the post it is impossible to take a very favourable view. Possibly the terms "infamous" and "corrupt" bestowed upon him by William Wynne, the biographer of Sir Leoline Jenkins, may be too strong, but it is clear that his integrity and honesty were not above suspicion, and the College under his rule was in a chronic state of domestic feud.

The accounts of the first two years made out by the Principal in the absence of a Bursar show the difficulties in the way of getting in the revenues. Sir Thomas Canon's heir put the College to legal expense by refusing payment of the rent-charge on the manor of Maen Clochog, and the aid of the Visitors had to be invoked to get payment from the tenants generally. On August 8, 1650, there is an order by the Visitor "that Dr. Roberts, Principal of Jesus College, do bring in unto them all his accompts and receipts and disbursements," and another on the same day "in regard there hath become a great neglect in choosing officers into Jesus Colledge for maintayninge the government of the said Colledge requiring them to choose all such officers forthwith." At the election which followed this order "there was some difference between the said Principall and Fellows," but on being brought before the Visitors it was allowed to stand.

A decision of the Visitors on March 27, 1651, shows that the differences within the College still continued.

“Whereas there hath been some difference between the Principal and Fellows of Jesus College concerning demands made by the Principal for charges in journeys upon College affairs, and salaries for some offices in the House, which difference hath been stated on both sides and referred to us the Visitors—upon full hearing of the matter, we hereby order that the Principal of the said College (for his journeys that were excepted against) shall be allowed the sum of £40 only. And for his Lectures at Wolvercote he shall receive (for the time he hath taken pains in it) according to the allowance of the Founder in that regard. And concerning salaries for the places in the House executed by himself, we think fitt to cut them off wholly.”

For many of the Colleges the administration of the Visitors was attended by wholesome and beneficial results. The statutes were more strictly interpreted, discipline more rigidly enforced, both religion and morals promoted, the Heads were compelled to reside and to look after the interests of their Colleges, Tutors to perform their duties to their pupils. But for Jesus many of these advantages were lost owing to the wretched and irreconcilable dissensions within its walls. In April 1654, “The Visitors taking into consideration the unsettled condition of Jesus College and the mischief and inconvenience that may arise thereon,” find it necessary to “order it to do their respective duties notwithstanding any controversies.”

In the course of 1654 things grew to a climax. Both sides appealed to the Visitors, the Fellows also to their own Visitor, the Earl of Pembroke, and finally presented a petition to the Lord Protector, complaining against

the Principal. Cromwell, however, referred the complaint to the Council, and "they upon consideration of the matter found it proper for the cognizance and determination of the Visitors of the University of Oxon." The latter fixed January 30, 1655, for hearing the business, but before the day arrived the Fellows themselves removed Dr. Roberts from the Principalship.

By this premature action the Fellows no doubt prejudiced themselves in the eyes of the Visitors, who declare on Feb. 20 that

"it is the unanimous sense of all the Visitors that by all that hath been alleged and proved by the Fellows of Jesus College and by their proceedings in the expulsion of the Principal, it doth not appear that he was justly or legally expelled."

No final order, however, was as yet given, and in the meantime the Visitors themselves appointed the College officers for the next year.

The precise nature of the charges made by the Fellows against Dr. Roberts appears from the Wynne MSS. in All Souls College. They may be summarised as follows:

(1) The Principal had made no accompts for the space of five years.

(2) He had abused his power of attorney to convert to his own private use the profits of the Rectory of Holyhead and had exacted money from the tenants for the renewing of their leases.

(3) He had damaged the College by attempting to let leases under the rates and by receiving College rent and detaining it.

(4) He had injured the poor Scholars of the College by receiving College Exhibitions and disposing of them contrary to the will and direction of the Donors.

(5) He had put the College to unnecessary and excessive charges in journeys and lawsuits.

(6) He had made illegal and unstatutable elections to the College.

(7) He had been negligent in recovering and inquiring after the dues and profits of the College.

(8) He had been unjust, arbitrary and partial in his government.

(9) He had endeavoured to diminish the statutable allowance of the Fellows and augmented his own salary against statute.

These articles are signed by James Vaughan, Vice-Principal; Thos. Ellis, Censor; Lewis Williams; Laurence Jones, Bursar; and Hamlet Puleston.

On May 19, 1656, the Visitors gave their final decision:

"Upon a very long and full hearing of the matter in controversie between the Principall and some of the Fellows of Jesus College concerning the Articles by them exhibited against him, the Visitors upon mature deliberation hereby declare that they do not see cause to confirm the act of the Fellows in the amotion of their Principal."

This was at best a very partial acquittal. Whether any further pressure was brought to bear on Dr. Roberts it does not appear, but towards the end of 1657 he resigned the Principalship into the hands of the Protector.

§ 4. MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGE UNDER THE COMMON-WEALTH.

From the beginning of 1652, Dr. Mansell was resident as a private member in the College, of which he had been for eighteen years the Head, living in the rooms over the Gateway, which had no doubt been the Principal's Lodging before the time of Sir Eubule Thelwall. In all probability Professor Burrows is right in suspecting some connection between this fact and the difficulty experienced in "settling" the College.

"When our Principall came first to Towne, he took up at Mr. Newman's a Baker in Holy-well: but the good office he dayly rendered to the College disposed the then Society so far to comply with his inclinations (which had been always to live and dye in the College) as to invite him to accept of one Chamber for accommodating himself, where he built several faire ones for the Benefitt of the College. This motion was accepted, and he lived in the College near the Stoney Staires near the Gate for eight years, where he had leisure to observe many changes and revolutions within those walls as without them, till that happy one of his Majestie's Restauration. . . . It were a hard taske to give a just accompt of our Principall's retirement here, so much did his humility labour to conceal his well-doing, and gallant suffering in all these respects. His exercise within doores was Prayer, without doores Charity; he did not go to any of the Publick Assemblies, for the most orderly among them wanted the Sacrifice of the Church, the holy Liturgy appointed by authority. He therefore either went to his little flock at Mr. White's

where himself solemnly officiated on Sundays and Holy-days with frequent Communion: or else to that Loyall Assembly, which mett not onely on Sundayes but week-dayes too at Dr. Willis his house, under the conduct of incomparable Dr. Fell, Dean of Christ Church, where the Church may be said to have retired to that *ὑπερῶον* there with such circumstances of primitive devotion and solemnity as was hardly to be parallel'd elsewhere during the storm of that Persecution. . . . Those that were friends to the usurpation then raining did not at all like of his Company here in the University, because it was observed that severall persons of Quality did resorte and hearken to him and were confirmed in his principles. And therefore they resolved to exterminate his little flock at Mr. White's by a Bannition out of Towne, which resolution being discovered, it was thought more advisable . . . to dissolve that knot voluntarily (which was done, the Chiefe of them going beyond the seas in June 1655) rather than to come to a dispersion by the Usurpers."

The diminished revenues of the College were quite insufficient to support the full number of Fellows and Scholars, and accordingly in February 1651 the Visitors ordered that

"as the number of Fellows and Scholars is far above the proportion of means enjoyed by the College, the Principal and Fellows have leave to diminish the number of Fellows and Scholars as places shall hereafter fall voyd."

As a matter of fact there seem never to have been more than eight Fellows under the Visitors. Of those originally appointed in October 1648 little need be said

except that they were mostly Englishmen and did not retain their places long. Two—John Forward and Francis Wilcox—were taken from Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Henry Eyre was afterwards Fellow of Merton and Recorder of Salisbury. Only one—Laurence Jones—retained his Fellowship during the whole of this period, and was retained in his place by the Commissioners at the Restoration.

Several of the Fellows subsequently elected were distinguished men. Thomas Ellis had entered the College under Dr. Mansell and bore arms in the garrison at Oxford, according to Wood, on the king's side, but if a letter signed Thomas Ellis, describing the fight at Copredy Bridge, is his, on the Parliament's. He, at any rate, retained his Scholarship under the Visitors and was subsequently elected Fellow, held the office of Censor in 1653, and was retained in his Fellowship on the Restoration, becoming Vice-Principal. On Dr. Mansell's resignation he is said to have expected the Principalship, and being disappointed in this threw up his tutorial work, lived in retirement and study till 1665, when he was made Rector of Dolgelley. He is described as "a person of solid learning, with a natural geny to British histories, and a singular love of the antiquities of his country of Wales, and had not his mind been perturbed by the variety of trouble which his place and office in the College required, he would have done most wonderful things for the honour of his nation." Having undertaken to revise and enlarge David Powell's *History of Cambria*, he had already printed 128 sheets of the work when he discovered that much of his material had been anticipated by Enderbie's *Cambria Triumphans*,

published in 1661, on which he threw up the task. He also wrote *Memoirs of Owen Glendower*, which were published in 1775 from a MS. in the Library of Jesus College.

Another Fellow constantly resident in the College during this period was John Parry, incorporated from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1650, and elected a Fellow of Jesus about the same time. He was continued Fellow by the Commissioners in 1660, but resigned two years later, when he was made Canon of York and Chaplain to Ormonde, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Appointed Dean of Christ Church, Dublin, in 1661, he was made Bishop of Ossory in 1672. He was a learned man, and the author of several books and published sermons.

A younger brother, Benjamin Parry, also migrated to Oxford from Dublin and entered Jesus College, graduating B.A. from it in 1651. In 1660 he became a Fellow of Corpus and Greek Reader there. Like his brother, however, he sought and gained preferment in his own country, becoming chaplain to the Earl of Essex, the Viceroy in 1672, and subsequently succeeding his brother in the Bishopric of Ossory.

Another Fellow of the time, a man apparently of some individuality, was Hamlet Puleston, descended from an ancient Flintshire family, but born himself at Alresford in Hampshire. In 1647 he was admitted a Scholar of Wadham, a College of which his father had been a Fellow. At first, according to Wood, he refused to subscribe to the ordinance of the Visitors, but he presumably did so before being appointed by them a

Fellow of Jesus. In 1656 we find him "Moderator Dialecticæ"; Wood says that he was "a preacher in those parts." He was retained a Fellow in 1660, but retired to London, where, after publishing a political tract called *Monarchiae Britannicae Singularis Protectio*, he died in a poor condition and in an obscure house in 1662.

Another somewhat remarkable member of the College under the Commonwealth was Charles Edwards of Rhyd-y-Croesau in Denbighshire. He entered All Souls in 1644. Expelled for an unsatisfactory reply to the questions of the Visitors, he was, owing to the influence of friends, elected to a Scholarship at Jesus in 1648, and in the following year was made Bible Reader. After remaining in Oxford for several years he was made sinecure Rector of Llanrhaiadr in Denbighshire, but was expelled at the Restoration and maltreated by the Royalist soldiers. Becoming estranged from his wife and family, he retired to Oxford in 1666, and devoted himself to Welsh literature, publishing in 1671 *Hanes y Ffydd Ddiffuant*, a history of Christianity, in which the ancient Welsh bards are proved to have held orthodox tenets and the primitive British Church to have been independent of that of Rome. To this book is prefixed a Latin recommendation written by Dr. Michael Roberts. Another book, *Hebraicorum Cambro-Britannicorum Specimen*, aims at establishing the Hebrew origin of the Welsh language. He seems to have lived obscurely and precariously, perhaps as a bookseller, and his last work, published in 1691, *An Afflicted Man's Testimony concerning his Troubles*, is an Autobiography.

The College would seem to have been, as far as numbers went, in a flourishing condition, at any rate during the later years of the Commonwealth. In 1657 there were fifty-three Commoners in addition to the Foundationers, and the names in the Buttery Books were still almost entirely Welsh.

On the resignation of Dr. Roberts in 1657, the Fellows seemed to have claimed the right of election, and chose Dr. Seth Ward, the Savilian Professor of Astronomy, who is said to have made interest with some of the Fellows. The College possesses no record of the election, and if it was actually carried out must have been at once quashed, either by the Visitors or by Cromwell. The Protector, indeed, is said to have already promised the Principalship to Francis Howell, Fellow of Exeter, who was appointed on October 24, 1657. A native of Gwinear in Cornwall, he was elected Fellow of Exeter and Greek Reader in 1648. He belonged to the Independent Party, and was one of the ministers appointed to preach at St. Mary's in 1650. He was one of the second body of Visitors who replaced the original set in 1652, and also one of the third and final body in 1654. In the latter year he was made Professor of Moral Philosophy. No accusation has been made against him in his two years' administration of the College, and when sent for by the Commissioners in 1660 he submitted to his ejection with dignity, and ended his days as Assistant to John Collins at the Lime Street Chapel, where he preached with great acceptance. It is evident from 1658 that Dr. Roberts continued to reside in the College for some time after his resignation, and it is curious to see the names of two ex-Principals

appearing together as ordinary members of the College. One would think that the common meals in the Hall under the circumstances would have some elements of embarrassment.*

* The books show that Francis Howell also continued to reside in the College for several months after Mansell's restoration.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RESTORATION PERIOD

§ 1. DR. MANSELL RESTORED.

ON the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660, a Royal Commission was appointed to settle the affairs of the University. The Commissioners were eleven in number, including the Bishop of Oxford, Paul Hood, the old Rector of Lincoln, now Vice-Chancellor, and Dr. Thomas Clayton, the new Warden of Merton. Dr. Mansell was not over forward to press his claims to restoration.

“ He was extremely dissatisfied to see how over pressing some men were to be restored to their rights & places, nay to be preferred too before the affaires of the Church & the Kingdome receaved the wished-for establishment. Therefore he never pressed by petition or otherwise to the *Visitors to settle the University* to be restored to his beloved College till their leisure gave them leave to send for him. When he came (which was the 1st of Aug. 1660), he lay'd before them an *Expedient* (as it is called in their Journal) for *Jesus College*, which all persons concerned saw fitt to submitt to & his Majestie^s Commission to approve of & ratify, so reasonable was it found to be, without any the least opposition or alteration.”*

* *Life of Mansell*, p. 26.

The nature of this expedient appears from the College Register.

On the day mentioned Dr. Mansell appeared before the Commissioners in the House of Congregation, and alleged that

“ he being loyally & statutably elected & admitted Principall of Jesus College was for severall years in quiett and peaceable possession thereof, till in the year 1648; at which time he was illegally turned out of his sayd Principall's place by the then pretended Visitors of this University, and M^r Francis Howell M.A. possesseth the same.”

Mr. Francis Howell then appeared and

“ sayth that he doth not possess the place of D^r Mansell in Jesus College, for he doth acknowledge him most worthy of the same, but he sayth that D^r Mansell being turned out of his Principall's place in 1648 by the then Visitors of Oxon., D^r Michael Roberts succeeded him, & the sayd D^r Roberts being removed, he this Respondent was Collegiately chosen according to the Statutes by the Fellows. . . . But he submitteth himself to this honourable Board.”

The Commissioners then proceeded to remove Howell and restore Mansell. The expedient presented by Dr. Mansell and approved by the Commission consisted of three parts:

1. The restoration of those Fellows who were ejected by the Visitors and were still in a capacity to be restored to their places. Among the four so restored were Daniel Brevint and James Vaughan.

2. The retention of certain Fellows who were put in by the Visitors, or elected by those who had their power

from the Visitors and were still in the College. Among the five so retained were Thomas Ellis, Hamlet Puleston and John Parry.

3. The nomination to Fellowships of seven other persons, who were formerly of the College, and were still well known to be able good men both for life and learning. Among these were Leoline Jenkins, and William Lloyd, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph.

Dr. Mansell, who had recently twice refused a bishopric, only retained his restored position for seven months.

“Being restored to his Headship (now the third time) his only care was (the decayes of age, especially dimness of sight, pressing hard upon him) to settle all that he had in the world on the College & to transfer the Headship upon some other that would study the interest of the College with the same concern that he had done.”

How by his will he increased the College endowments by his two Prebends, and how his personal estate was employed to buy land in Glamorganshire has been already mentioned,

“so that the College hath at this time of his Benefaction about £1600 in buildings erected in his time, £40 a year in freehold improvable to four score, £65 a year in Lease under the Prebends that succeeded him, besides severall other Benefactions which came to the College by his Sollicitation & in his time.” *

For the Headship he recommended Dr. William Bassett, Fellow of All Souls and formerly a commoner of Jesus. He was a man of considerable interest in his

* *Life*, p. 29.

own county of Glamorganshire, and one "who would have added to the reputation of the College by his government and to the revenues of it by his generous mind and ample fortune." On the score of ill-health, however, he refused the proffered position, and on March 1, 1661, Leoline Jenkins, "by the unanimous consent of all the Fellows at a free election and with the good liking of our Common-Father," was appointed Principal. For four years Dr. Mansell continued to live as a private member in the College with which he had been so long, and under such vicissitudes of fortune, connected.

"The offices of the Church he attended constantly thrice a day in the College Chappell with most exemplary transports of devotion, and never failed for several years to have the office of the Church for the Sick read to him twice a day in his Chamber. . . . He came by degrees to be confined to his Chamber and at last to his bed, which as it was the last scene, so it was the most exemplary and admirable ; though it had nothing in it extraordinary but an extraordinary piety in all the arts and exercises of Religion. . . . And upon the 1st day of May 1665 he changed this life for a better of Blisse and Immortality."

Thus passed away a man of sternness indeed and severity, as his portrait in the Lodgings shows, but one who had gained in a singular degree the love and veneration of every member of his College.

§ 2. SIR LEOLINE JENKINS.

Sir Leoline Jenkins has been called, and in a very real sense he was, the second Founder of the College. Till

his time it had been struggling, often under great disadvantages, to reach the position contemplated by its Founder and Benefactors. A succession of able and patriotic Principals—Griffith Powell, Sir Eubule Thelwall, Mansell—had done much towards this end. It remained for Sir Leoline Jenkins to consummate the work begun.

He was born in 1625 at Llanblethian in Glamorgan-shire of a comparatively humble family. His father, Leoline Jenkins or Jenkins Lluellin, is described as “an honest, prudent, industrious man of about £40 a year.” He was, however, if uneducated himself, fully alive to the advantages of education, and sent his son to the neighbouring school of Cowbridge, where “he laid the foundation of that knowledge and accuracy in the Latin and Greek tongues to which he afterwards arrived.” He entered Jesus College in 1641, having been recommended by Mr. David Jenkins, one of the Judges of North Wales, to Dr. Wilkins, the Warden of Wadham.

“His behaviour,” says his biographer, William Wynne, “from his first appearance in the College was so regular and exact that a good opinion was soon taken up of him. . . . He had such a remarkable settled gravity and serious deportment that even in the youthful part of his life he had but little of the youth in him.”

He had hardly been up a year when the war broke out, and, like many other students, he took up arms for the king, and was present on active service in some expeditions. In 1648 he retired to Wales with a view of resuming his interrupted studies. This, as it turned out, was a fortunate move, for

"it happened that his place of residence was not far from Llantrythyd, so that he was soon taken notice of by Dr. Mansell, who not only invited him to pass his time with them at Sir John Aubrey's house, but introduced him to the friendship of those eminent men his companions; which proved the cause and rise of all his future prosperity."

He was employed as Tutor first to Sir John Aubrey's son, and then to "other young gentlemen of the best rank and quality in those parts." But the exiles from Oxford were not left in peace. How Dr. Mansell was outraged has been already told in Sir Leoline's own words, and "the young man" as he calls himself was indicted at the Quarter Sessions for keeping "a Seminary of Rebellion and Sedition." He accordingly returned to Oxford in 1651 and settled with his pupils in Mr. White's House, called Little Welsh Hall. On Mansell's own return to Oxford, Jenkins was occasionally employed on messages and correspondences between such staunch royalists as Mansell, Sheldon and Fell. Partly owing to this, suspicion fell upon him, and he was regarded by the schismatical members of the University as a dangerous man. When his patron, Dr. Wilkins, was promoted from Wadham to Trinity College, Cambridge, Jenkins considered Oxford no longer a safe place, and took his pupils beyond the seas.

He remained abroad for five years, travelling with his pupils in France, Germany, and Holland, acquiring foreign languages, making acquaintance with eminent and learned men, and laying the foundation of his knowledge of Civil Law, a study which he continued under favourable circumstances for two years after his

return (1658-60) at Apley in Shropshire in the library of Sir William Whitmore.

On the Restoration he returned to Jesus College, and on the ground of the reputation he had gained, was one of the new Fellows named in "the Expedient," though as yet he had proceeded to no Degree, and on Dr. Mansell's resignation was elected Principal. He was not, however, destined for a life merely of academic distinction. The adventurous character of his early career had brought him before the notice of many distinguished men, and in particular of Archbishop Sheldon, and he had already acquired a special knowledge of the Civil and Canon Law. Hence preferments came fast upon him. Within the University he was made Assessor of the Chancellor's Court, a position peculiarly suited to his capacities, and one which gave him the opportunity of coming forward as a vigorous and zealous defender of the rights and privileges of the University. In 1662 he was Deputy Professor of Civil Law, and "became a sort of oracle in all questions and matters of law," while his knowledge of French and other languages made him of singular use to the University in maintaining their foreign correspondence. Outside the University he was soon made Register of the Consistory Court of Westminster and then Commissary and Vicar-General for the Diocese of Canterbury. At the end of 1663 he was admitted into the Society of Doctors' Commons and made Deputy to the Dean of the Court of Arches. The Dutch War breaking out soon after this, he was appointed one of a Board of Civilians to review the Maritime Law and to draw up a body of rules to guide the Judge of the

Admiralty Court in the adjudication of prizes. This soon led to his being made Assistant to the Judge of the Admiralty Court and subsequently the Judge in his own right.

Dr. Jenkins' rise to this eminent position had been extraordinarily rapid, and his conduct and ability in his new position soon rendered his name famous in most parts of Europe. The business in his court during the year was enormous: in less than two years he gave 436 final sentences, and suitors appeared before him "from almost all nations." His answers and reports on all matters referred to him showed not only the soundness of his judgment in the particular matters of his profession, but a notable compass of knowledge in the general affairs of Europe. In 1665 he was made by his friend Archbishop Sheldon Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, so that he now held the two highest and most considerable stations in his profession. He was constantly appealed to and consulted on matters of the highest State importance:

"he was like the celebrated *juris consulti* among the Romans not only in his great knowledge of the law, but also like them freely and without reward gave his opinion in all cases put by the State."

Among other commissions he was sent to France on an important point of international law in connection with the succession to the personal property of Henrietta Maria, and for his success in this somewhat delicate negotiation he was knighted by Charles II. He was also one of the Commissioners in 1670 in the abortive negotiations for a union with Scotland.

In 1673 his immediate connection with Jesus College, broken and intermittent as his duties outside Oxford had already made it, was finally severed by his appointment to represent England in the Congress summoned at Cologne to mediate between England, France, and Holland. The Congress proved abortive, but in 1676 another was held at Nymwegen, in which Sir Leoline Jenkins was the chief of the three English representatives. The various despatches, letters and reports drawn up by him in this connection are collected in the second volume of his life by William Wynne. Finally, in 1680 he became Secretary of State, "the most faithful drudge of a secretary that ever a Court had," according to Roger North. But his health was ruined by the strain of so many years' arduous work, and retiring in 1684 with a bounty of £5000, he died on September 1, 1685. "He was a man of exemplary life," says Burnet, "and considerably learned, but he was dull and slow: he was suspected of leaning to popery, but very unjustly."

§ 3. THE COLLEGE UNDER SIR LEOLINE JENKINS.

The College was in sore need of a firm and vigorous administration

"when the former discipline of it had been so long interrupted by the late distracted and licentious times and had suffered so much by the management of his infamous and corrupt predecessor. . . . Such was the shattered condition of this College at the time of the Restoration that it was in no wise able to support the most just and necessary charges of it, and was almost beyond hopes of recovery, and must have felt very fatal consequences had it not received a seasonable relief by the happy management of Dr,

Jenkins, who in this capacity did abundantly satisfy the hope conceived of him and resolved carefully to apply himself to the discharge of his duty. He made it his first concern to restore the exercises, disputations and habits and to reform all abuses and irregular practices which the general liberty and licentiousness of the late times had introduced. Then he set about to review and consider the Body of Statutes, to explain such of them as were not rightly understood, to supply and enforce others that had been neglected. . . . By these prudent methods he retrieved the reputation and advanced the discipline of the College."

The first minute in the Register after his election is as follows :

"Principalis et socii uno animo et ore indicunt preces Vespertinas quolibet die profesto inter horas quintam et sextam in posterum celebrandas juxta ritum Ecclesiae Anglicanae."

One of the most pressing needs was the restoration of order and regularity in the College finances. This Sir Leoline at once attended to, but the hard times which the tenants had passed through left their trace for years. In 1667 the arrears due to the College amounted to over £1100, in 1686 to over £1600; in the former year all the money available for Principal, Fellows and Scholars only amounted to £183, and in comparatively few years were all the "places" fully paid. Several new benefactions, as has been already mentioned, belong to this or the immediately succeeding period, notably those of Mansell, Backhouse, Dr. William Thomas, representing the Chapter of St. David's, and Bloom.

A correspondence between the Bishop of St. Asaph and Sir Leoline gives an illustration of the difficulties in

which the College occasionally found itself involved in consequence of the restriction of places to Founders' kin. The Bishop, anxious to secure a Fellowship for a nephew of his own, writes :

"Beinge informed that a Fellowship and a Scholarship (if not two) are or will be voyd (att your election) of Dr. Gwynne's foundation, I shall agayne put you in minde of the gentleman I last recommended to you and of the kindred of Dr. Gwynne in generall, in Anglesey, who being sufficiently if not eminently qualyfied for learninge and manners are in the first place to be preferred. . . . In which proceedings I dought not but you will have as well regard to ingenuity as justice, that soe you may rather invite than discourage others to become benefactors to you."

The Principal, however, was proof against this somewhat pointed appeal.

"My Lord, having been told that your nephew hath a fortune of his own, I shall humbly offer to your Lordship's consideration that every one of the Fellows is to swear positively at his admission '*quod non habet patrimonium, etc . . . unde potest expendere annuatim ultra decem libras.*'"

"How far the young gent may be concerned in this; I know not."

The College, it seems from the Wynne MSS. in All Souls Library, was involved in considerable trouble and some expense owing to the importunity with which Dr. Michael Roberts put forward a claim to be reinstated in the Fellowship of which he had been deprived in 1637. Such a claim was, of course, preposterous, since, even supposing his original deprivation to have been irregular (and there was some difficulty in deciding this

owing to the loss, during the Visitation, of the Register), he had beyond doubt vacated his Fellowship by accepting the office of Principal. He, however, posed as a very ill-used person. He seems to have continued to live in Oxford "obscurely though rich," according to Wood. He died on May 3, 1679, "with a girdle loyned with broad gold about him (£100 they say) at Tom Aplebye's house against Logick Lane," and was buried in St. Peter's Churchyard.

In point of numbers the College was prosperous under Sir Leoline's rule. In 1669 the Buttery Book shows that, in addition to the Fellows and Scholars, eighty-eight members actually batted in the College, and among the Fellow-Commoners we find the names of Sir Edward Stradling, the Earl of Montgomery, Sir Philip Herbert, and Sir John Lloyd. The names show that the College was almost exclusively Welsh at this time. It undoubtedly gained in prestige owing to the distinguished position occupied by its Principal, though it is possible that his frequent absences "*reipublicae causa*" may have been in some respects detrimental to discipline. On one occasion, we learn, during the plague in London the College Hall became the seat of judicature for the High Court of Admiralty.

The buildings of the College had been left uncompleted at the outbreak of the Civil War, and, in the absence of a regular Library, the books were still kept in the rooms above the Kitchen and Buttery. No step seems to have been taken to complete the inner Quadrangle during the Principalship of Sir Leoline, but it was no doubt always his intention to continue the work of Dr. Mansell, and about the year 1676 he proceeded

to carry out this intention. The south side of the Quadrangle having been finished, two or three tenements standing in Cheyney Lane were bought in, and the present Library built, at Sir Leoline's own expense, along part of the west side, the books being transferred to their new quarters in 1679. The remaining portion of the inner Quadrangle, containing the Senior Common Room and Staircase XI., was not completed till the time of Principal Edwards, in the first ten years of the eighteenth century.

§ 4. DR. LLOYD PRINCIPAL.

On April 12, 1673, Sir Leoline Jenkins resigned the Principalship in order to devote himself wholly to his public duties, and Dr. John Lloyd, the Senior Fellow, was elected into his place. Born of a good family in Carmarthenshire, he entered Merton in 1656, and was elected a Fellow of Jesus immediately after the Restoration. He was a man of no very great distinction. Wood, who perhaps had some personal grudge against him, describes him as a "bibing fellow, of little business, pedanticall, of little or no behaviour." He was Vice-Chancellor from 1682-85, and on one occasion at least acted with vigour and promptitude. In March 1683, when feeling ran high between the partisans of York and Monmouth, a serious riot took place in the city, and one of the pro-Proctors who had conducted a rioter as prisoner to the Castle was himself besieged there by a howling mob of townsmen. Dr. Lloyd, receiving a message after midnight, proved equal to the occasion, and at the head of a body of armed Jesus men sallied



From a photograph by the

INTERIOR OF THE LIBRARY

[Oxford Camera Club]



forth, dispersed the crowd and released the beleaguered pro-Proctor. Dr. Lloyd had been Treasurer of Llandaff since 1679, and in 1686 he was nominated Bishop of St. David's. His epitaph states that he accepted the preferment against his will. In any case he did not hold it long. He was a man of feeble constitution, and almost before visiting his diocese he died in the College, aged only forty-eight, within a year of his appointment. During his Principalship the College was visited in May 1683 by the Duke and Duchess of York and Anne their daughter.

"They were conducted by the Vice Chancellor (head of that house) when the Societie being all present in their formalities Mr. William Lloyd, one of the Fellows . . . spoke a copy of English verses. Which ended, they went and viewed (through the lower end of the Hall) Sir Leoline Jenkins' new Buildings."

But the College was the scene of a far more impressive ceremony in September 1685, when Sir Leoline Jenkins was buried in the College Chapel.

"His body," says his biographer, "was embalmed and carried from his house at Hammersmith to Oxford, being attended by some of his intimate friends and domestick servants. And if the bodies of men be capable of any honour, Sir Leoline's had as much as any man's could have; and he was attended to his grave with all the decency and splendor becoming those high employments he had undergone. So grateful and obliging to him was that learned Body for the many useful and acceptable services he had performed for them in the course of his life."

"The pomp and manner of his reception there and of his interment is thus described by one that was an eyewitness. When the Corps came near the City, several Doctors and the principle members and officers of the University, the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens, some in Coaches and others on horseback went out to meet it, and conducted it to the Publick Schools, where the Vice Chancellor, Bishop of the Diocese and the whole Body of the University were ready to receive it, and placed it in the Divinity School, which was fitted and prepared for that purpose with all convenient ornaments and decorations.

"Two days after the Vice Chancellor, several Bishops, Noblemen, Doctors, Proctors, Masters met there again in their formalities, as well as many others that came to pay their last respects to him; and the memory of the deceased being solemnised in a Latin oration by the University orator, the Corps was removed to the Chappel of Jesus College, where the Vice Chancellor (who happened to be the Principal therof) read the office of Burial; and another Latin oration was made by one of the Fellows of the College,* which was accompanied with musick, anthems and other performances suitable to the occasion. After which it was interred in the Area of the said Chappel, with a marble stone over his grave and a Latin inscription on it supposed to be made by his old friend Dr. Fell, Lord Bishop of Oxford, and Dean of Christ Church."

§ 5. CHIEF MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGE.

Of the Fellows during this period, Dr. William Lloyd was the most distinguished. He was born at Tilehurst in Berkshire, where his father, Richard Lloyd, from

* The speech delivered by Mr. Spencer, a somewhat voluminous one, is extant among the College papers.

Henblas in Anglesey, was Rector of Sonning. He is said to have matriculated at Oriel in 1639 in his twelfth year, and in 1640 he was elected to a Scholarship at Jesus, becoming Fellow apparently in 1641 or 1642. After 1649 he was tutor in the family of Mr. William Backhouse of Swallowfield, and after living abroad for nine years he accompanied his old pupil, John Backhouse, to Wadham, and remained with him as private tutor for three years.* In 1660 he was one of the Fellows nominated by Dr. Mansell's "Expedient," but the Buttery and Account Books show that he never resided in the College. He passed through a long series of ecclesiastical preferments, being one of the King's Chaplains in 1666, and chief Chaplain in the household of the Princess Mary on her marriage with the Prince of Orange in 1677, identifying himself on every occasion with the Anti-Papist and Puritanical party. In 1680 he was made Bishop of St. Asaph, and in 1688 was one of the seven Bishops whose trial in the Court of King's Bench for refusing to circulate the King's Declaration of Indulgence was the great political event of that year. He was a strong supporter of the Revolution, and was successively promoted to the See of Lichfield and Coventry in 1692, and finally to Worcester in 1700. He remained nominally a Fellow of Jesus till 1687,† being often entered in the Buttery Books as "Episcopus Lloyd." As a youth he is said to have been extraordinarily precocious in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and in later life he had a great reputation

* It may have been due to his influence that Mr. Backhouse, in 1661 conferred his benefaction on the College. See p. 80.

† Although he was married in 1668.

for learning. It was he who induced Burnet to undertake his *History of the Reformation*, furnishing a "curious collection of his own observations." In his last years he seems to have had hallucinations, laying claim to prophetic powers. He died at the age of ninety-one in 1717.

Another distinguished Fellow of the College was Humphrey Humphreys, born in Merionethshire in 1648 and matriculated at Jesus in 1665. He was elected Fellow in 1672. After being Chaplain to Dr. Humphrey Lloyd, Bishop of Bangor, he was Dean of Bangor in 1680, and was in 1689 made Bishop of that diocese, from which he was translated to Hereford in 1701. He was "excellently well versed in the antiquities of Wales," and was considered, after Edward Lhuyd, the best Celtic scholar of his time. Besides other antiquarian work, he made additions to Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* and *Fasti*, which were incorporated in Bliss' edition.

Henry Maurice, another Fellow from North Wales, entered the College from Beaumaris School in 1664, and was elected Fellow in 1670. After holding the curacy of Cheltenham for a short time, he accompanied Sir Leoline Jenkins as Chaplain to Cologne, and after remaining abroad three years lived with him at Doctors' Commons as his domestic chaplain. In 1680 he occupied a similar position with Archbishop Sancroft, which led to his presentation to the living of Newington in Oxfordshire in 1685, the year in which he resigned his Fellowship. In 1691 he was elected Lady Margaret Professor.

Maurice was a man of fine scholarship and enjoyed

some reputation as a controversialist, especially on the subject of Episcopacy in the Primitive Church, on which he opposed both Baxter and Clarkson.

Edmund Meyricke, whose benefaction to the College will be mentioned below, was a younger brother of the house of Ucheldre of Merionethshire, and entered the College under Dr. Michael Roberts in 1656. In 1662 he was elected a Fellow, but resigned before his probationary year was over on being preferred to the Vicarage of Eynsham. He subsequently held with this several Rectories in Carmarthenshire, was Prebendary in the Collegiate Church of Brecon in 1670, Precentor in 1685, and finally Canon and Treasurer of St. David's in 1671. A half-length portrait of him hangs in the Hall.

Exactly contemporary with Henry Maurice was Richard Lucas, of Radnorshire, who, entering the College in 1664, was elected Fellow in 1671. After being Master of Abergavenny School, and gaining some reputation as a preacher, he became Rector of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, and later was Prebend of Westminster. At about the age of forty he became totally blind, on which, to divert his thoughts from a melancholy application to his misfortune, and to be of service to the world, he devoted himself to the writing of pious and devotional books, producing his *Enquiry after Happiness* in 1665, a book which retained its reputation and went through numerous editions. Many other books of the same kind followed, and gained Lucas among his friends the epithet of the "Pious." He died in 1715.

John Evans, of Llanarmon, Carnarvonshire, Bishop of Bangor in 1702, and of Meath in 1716, is said to have

been admitted at Jesus College, and possibly graduated as B.A. in 1671. For about twenty years of the earlier part of his life he was one of the East India Company's Chaplains; there he seems to have made a fortune to a certain extent at the expense of his character. He was called "the merchant parson," "the quondam minister, but late great merchant." To what interest he owed his subsequent elevation in the Church is not clear, but he identified himself very strongly with the Whigs, and when in Ireland had a violent quarrel with Swift, who on one occasion had to remind him that "he was speaking to a clergyman, not to a footman." He died in 1724.

Among so many ecclesiastical dignitaries it is a positive relief to insert a career of a different nature. John Jones, of Pentyrch, in Glamorganshire, entered the College in 1662, and after being Scholar was elected an honorary Fellow in 1667. The following year, being licensed by the University to practise physic, he settled at Windsor. In 1683 he published a Latin treatise, *De febris intermittenibus*, and in 1700, *The Mysteries of Opium Revealed*, a book described by Munk as "extraordinary and perfectly unintelligible." In 1691 he became Chancellor of Llandaff, and dying in 1709 was buried in that Cathedral. He was the inventor of an ingenious clock "which moved by the air equally expressed out of bellows of a cylindrical form falling into folds in its descent much after the manner of paper lanterns."

There is probably no one of its members of whom the College has more reason to be proud than Edward Lhuyd, the Celtic scholar and naturalist. A native of Llanvorda, near Oswestry, he entered the College

in 1682 at the age of twenty-two, and without taking a Degree was two years later appointed under-keeper of the newly established Ashmolean Museum. Hearne describes him as "a person who was naturally addicted to the study of plants, stones, &c., as also antiquities." Even after his succession to the Head-keepership in 1690 he remained in very poor circumstances, since the keepership was "a mean post, seeing there is no salary," and he must have been dependent mostly on the fees of visitors. But his reputation in his particular line soon became so great that a public subscription was opened to enable him to undertake an extended antiquarian and scientific tour, in the course of which he travelled all over Wales, Cornwall, Ireland, and even in Brittany (1696-1701). Much of his work has been incorporated in Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannica*, published in 1695, but his first independent work was, in Hearne's words,

"a small book in 8^{vo} about fossiles which is writ in Latin . . . and has given occasion to Dr. Sloane often to say that he thinks Mr. Lhuyd the best naturalist now in Europe."

This book published in 1699 was called *Lithophylacei Britannia Ichnographia*, and was printed at the expense of Sir Isaac Newton and other friends.

On his return to Oxford from his travels in 1701 he was made an honorary M.A., and after some years spent in arranging his material he published, in 1707, the first (and, as it proved, the only) volume of his *Archaeologia Britannica*, a masterly and titanic work, containing among other subjects: (1) Comparative Etymology; (2) Comparative Vocabulary of the British and Irish Languages;

(3) An Armoric Grammar; (4) A Cornish Grammar; (5) MSS. Britannicorum Catalogus; (6) An Irish-English Dictionary. During his preparation of this great work Lhuyd lived a quiet and retired life at Eynsham. He was, according to Hearne,

“a being of singular modesty, good nature and uncommon industry . . . not at all ambitious of preferment or honour, and what he does is purely out of love to the good of learning and his country.”

He well deserved the honour of being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1708. In 1709 he was elected Superior Beadle of Divinity against Mr. Cooling, Sub-Warden of New College, Hearne, who was also a candidate, retiring in his favour. The increased salary, however, came too late for him to enjoy it, for he died on June 30 in the same year, of asthma and pleurisy, at the early age of forty-nine. Deservedly great and widespread as his reputation was, he was not, it would seem, altogether appreciated in his own College. In the preface to his great work he complains of a certain gentleman “who ran it down as of no great use, there being, as he said, but three or four who troubled themselves about this subject.” The “gentleman” is identified by Hearne with Dr. Wynne, the Margaret Professor. This depreciation, if somewhat petty, might be overlooked, but Dr. Wynne’s action after Lhuyd’s death was one which the College can never forgive. His invaluable MS. collections were offered for sale to Jesus College and declined by it, owing to the influence and animus of Dr. Wynne. They were accordingly disposed of elsewhere, the Welsh portion being mostly bought (with

the exception of the Welsh MSS. known as *Didrefn Gasgliad* in Shirburn Castle) by Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, and unfortunately being destroyed a few years later by a fire in the house of the binder to which they had been sent.

§ 6. PRINCIPAL EDWARDS.

When Dr. Lloyd was promoted to the Bishopric of St. David's in 1686, the choice of the Fellows fell upon the Vice-Principal, Jonathan Edwards. He was a native of Wrexham in Denbighshire, and originally entered Christ Church as a servitor in 1655. In 1662 he was elected Fellow of Jesus, was Bursar in 1672, and Vice-Principal continuously from 1668. He was Vice-Chancellor from 1689-91. Of the state of the College under his rule we know very little. Its members seem to have taken small part in the military activity which some Colleges displayed at the time of Monmouth's rebellion. The only items in the Account Book which refer to it are these :

The Sadler's Bill for necessities for those w ^h		
rid in the University troop	001.00.09	
Oates for y ^e Principall's horses when in the		
troop	001.03.00	

Dr. Edwards himself was a keen controversialist. His *Preservative against Socinianism*, published in 1693, caused him to be looked upon, says Hearne, "as the greatest champion against Socinianism that hath appeared of late years." He also took part in the Antinomian Controversy between the Independents and the Presby-

terians of London, and was engaged with undiminished ardour for dispute in a controversy on Original Sin at the time of his death in 1712. Hearne says he was not a man of the great integrity he should have been. He would probably, in Hearne's eyes, have shown greater integrity if he had been less Calvinistic, and allowance must be made for the "odium theologicum." He was a Benefactor to the College, spending, it is said, £1000 on the adornment of the Chapel, and leaving a bequest of £600 and his valuable Library. It was during the last years of his rule that the Inner Quadrangle was finally completed by the filling up of the gap hitherto left in the north-western corner.

CHAPTER IX

THE NEW FOUNDATION

§ 1. SIR LEOLINE JENKINS' ENDOWMENT OF THE COLLEGE.

CONSIDERING the nature and importance of the offices of State which Sir Leoline had held in the last twenty years of his life, and the opportunities for amassing money which several of them might have presented to a less scrupulous character, the estate which he left behind him was small. He had already in his lifetime contributed largely to, if not entirely built, the new Library, and by his will he consummated his beneficent intentions to the College by bequeathing to it his whole property, real and personal.

His real estate, which was of comparatively recent acquisition, consisted of :

(1) Lands in Glamorganshire, including the manor of Moulton and a number of farms and messuages within the precincts of Eglwys-Llewn. These were of the annual value of about £140, but subject to a rent-charge of £100 a year during the lifetime of Evan Jenkins, Sir Leoline's brother.

(2) Two parcels of land, respectively three acres and four acres in size, situated near the river in the parish of Lambeth, with all houses, buildings, and wharves upon them. The rent from this land was £85 a year.

Some idea of the ultimate value of this land to the College may be gained from the fact that in 1813 the three acres were sold to the Strand Bridge Company for over £20,000, whilst the remaining four acres now bring in over £3000 a year.

(3) Lands and tenements in the neighbourhood of Woodend and Plumpton in Northamptonshire, calculated to bring in, on an average, £350 a year.

(4) An estate at Dumbleton in Gloucestershire, worth about £160 a year, but on which a rent-charge of £150 was payable for her life to the widow of the former owner, being her jointure.

In addition to these estates the personal property was laid out by the Executors after Sir Leoline's death in

(5) Some land at Bampton and Weald in Oxfordshire, worth at first about £60 a year.

Altogether the College revenues were increased by about £700 a year, and Sir Leoline may well be styled the second Founder of the College.

The estates, however, were not left entirely at the free disposal of the College; they were intended "to bear a charge of pious and charitable uses." Of these the following are the most important:

(1) The allowance of the Head of Jesus College as Principal, "not being suitable to the trust and dignity of the place," was to be increased by £50 a year.

(2) £120 a year was to be added to the common stock for the purpose of filling up all the sixteen Fellowships and sixteen Scholarships and raising them to the full value of £20 and £10 respectively, so that there might be no "honorary" Fellowships or Scholarships.

(3) As soon as the estate allowed of it, two additional Fellowships were to be founded, with the same salaries, allowances and privileges as the rest, open to persons born in the Dioceses of St. David's or Llandaff, and by preference from Cowbridge School. The holders of these two Fellowships were to be in Priests' Orders and to serve as Chaplains either in his Majesty's fleet or in the Plantations, receiving while on actual service an extra £20 a year each, being styled respectively the "alumnus of King Charles II." and the "alumnus of King James II.," as an acknowledgment "of the goodness and bounty of his late Majesty and his Majesty that then was." The first two of these "Missionary Fellows" were elected in 1702, when the rent-charge of £100 on the Glamorganshire lands lapsed by the death of Evan Jenkins, the last was elected in 1875.

(4) When the estates of Moulton and Dumbleton came to the College,

"I recommend it to them to settle some Lectures in the College for the opening and explaining classical authors in Greek and Latin to the Undergraduates. I should think £15 a year a piece to the two Lecturers and fifty shillings a year among the auditors of each would be a competent reward."

With regard to the Fellowships and Scholarships, mention has already been made of the local restrictions to which some of them were subject according to the Benefactors' Wills, and it has been pointed out that these restrictions were in many cases merely *de facto*. In all probability many disputes had arisen, and perhaps some jealousy between North and South Wales. Thus

in 1662 we find Dr. George Stradling writing to Sir Leoline that "North Wales men are very averse from doing anything for the College." In order to prevent this in future, Sir Leoline Jenkins attached an important condition to his bequest of £120 a year to the Fellowship and Scholarship fund :

"In regard there is nothing in this world more valuable in a society of men that follow liberal and pious studies than peace and concord among themselves, specially in electing Foundation men, together with a great exactness in observing and performing the wishes and disposition of their Founders and Benefactors, my design in this settlement of £120 a year upon the College is to engage them before they receive any part of it to fill up all Fellowships and Scholarships that are now vacant, and to set forth in one Scheme the present sixteen Fellowships and sixteen Scholarships, and therein to show to what Diocese, County, Town, place or family, each by the disposition of the respective founder and donor doth and ought of right to belong : and in case there be any of those places that are not already so affected and fixed by the particular donors, then to set forth in the said Scheme how, and to what Diocese, County, Town or place they may be . . . affected and appropriated with strict regard had to the donations and dispositions of the particular Benefactor respectively and with most advantage to the peace of the said College."

In accordance with this a scheme was drawn up in the form of an indenture between the College and the Executors of Sir Leoline, by which seven Fellowships were assigned to South Wales and Monmouthshire, and seven to North Wales, certain preferences being retained in each case for particular localities in accordance with

the Wills of Benefactors. Of the other two Fellowships, one was, as before, limited to the Channel Islands, and the other was open to the counties of England generally, but with preference to the kindred of Bishop Westphaling or Sir Thomas Walter. A similar arrangement was made with regard to the Scholarships, though in their case two were open to England generally, subject to preference to the same two Founders' kin. This scheme seems to have answered its purpose in settling jealousies and disputes, but, as has been already noticed, it had the effect of making the Foundationers of the College almost exclusively Welshmen. (See Table on p. 87.)

§ 2. COWBRIDGE SCHOOL.

It is from this time that the close connection commenced which has ever since existed between the College and Cowbridge School. It is stated, though I do not know on what authority, that the original funds of the school were derived from one of the very ancient local ecclesiastical Colleges dissolved by Henry VIII. At any rate, from early in the seventeenth century the school had been the property of the Stradlings of St. Donat's, who had set apart the school, school-houses and premises for the special purpose of a school. Of the character and history of the school during this earlier period there is no certain information. It was termed the Free School of Cowbridge, enjoyed some local reputation, and in particular had had the distinction of sending out Sir Leoline Jenkins. One interesting document remains, for a knowledge of which I am indebted to the present Headmaster—the

MS. copy of an address to Sir John Stradling delivered on September 18, 1618, by one of the scholars, Evan Seys (afterwards Serjeant-at-Law and Recorder for Gloucester). From this it appears that Sir Edward Stradling in 1608 had formed the pious intention of founding a Free School, but that the execution of the design was the work of his nephew, Sir John Stradling, who built the school and school-house below the church and the town walls, "beautified and adorned it" . . . with tables, books, Latin Dictionaries and Greek Lexicons . . ." and enriched and endowed it with a salary of £20 a year.

The Master of the School, Mr. David Watkins, writes in August 1684 :

"There have gone out of the Schule yearly for these 12 years past half dozen Scholars, for a private Country Schule competently instructed : I doubt not with God's blessing but it may continue to send out the same or greater number for the time to come."

Sir Leoline Jenkins, with a view of putting his old school upon a firmer foundation, and under more regular management, purchased the school buildings with all rights attached from Sir Edward and Lady Stradling, and bequeathed them by his Will to the College. As the school premises, being set apart for a special purpose, were not technically included in the real estate of Sir Edward Stradling, the method of its transmission to the College was by the fictitious process of fine and recovery. Sir Leoline's agent writes to him in August 1684 :

"Sir Edward Stradling and his lady by deeds fine and recovery have according to your desire passed the inherit-

ance of the School, School house etc. in Cowbridge to Jesus College."

And Sir Leoline's Will runs:

"I give devise and bequeath to the said Principal, Fellows and Scholars of Jesus College, a certain School and School house with the yards, garden, orchards, outletts, easements, hereditaments and appurtenances situate lying and being in the Town of Cowbridge . . . commonly called or known by the name of the Free School there, lately purchased by me in the names of Trustees from Sir Edward Stradling of St. Donat's Castle . . . which yet I do reckon as of his free gift to the said College and desire he may be reputed their benefactor and donor thereof—to have and to hold the said Schoole, Schoole house and all and singular the premises to them and their successors for ever subject to the disposal and trust hereafter specified."

The trusts alluded to are the payments yearly and every year for ever to the uses following:

(1) To the Schoolmaster of Cowbridge for the time being (to be nominated and appointed by the Principal of the College for the time being) so long as he doth not undertake any cure of Souls but keeps himself wholly to the business of his school, ten pounds per annum for the teaching of five Pensioners of the school.

(2) A second ten pounds for the teaching of ten other youths the most towardly in the school to be selected out of the town of Cowbridge and the neighbouring parishes being the children of such who are not well able to pay for their schooling.

(3) Thirty pounds to be paid in pensions of six pounds apiece to five Scholars of the school to be known and distinguished by the name of Pensioners, nomi-

nated by the Schoolmaster and approved by the Principal of the College, the pension to be continued for four years.

(4) Thirty pounds to be paid in Exhibitions of ten pounds a year apiece to three of the Pensioners also for four years in case they be not in the meantime elected to a Scholarship or Fellowship in the College.

(5) Twenty pounds for the binding and apprenticing of poor children in the neighbourhood of Cowbridge, or the clothing of old poor people, at the discretion of the Schoolmaster.

When Sir Leoline Jenkins' two additional Fellowships were established, it was arranged that two out of the three Cowbridge Exhibitions should be converted into two extra Scholarships, with a preference to Cowbridge School. The third Exhibition was ultimately, together with all other Exhibitions, merged in the common Exhibition Fund.

With these exceptions the arrangements of Sir Leoline's Will have been carried out ever since. In a sense the College is the governing body of the school, as Sir Leoline undoubtedly intended it to be, inasmuch as the school buildings are its property, and the annual payments come from the common revenues, but the position is rendered somewhat anomalous by the fact that the Principal alone has the right of nominating the Master.

Like other small grammar schools, Cowbridge has had its ups and downs, but the connection with the College has, on the whole, worked as Sir Leoline intended that it should. The College has not been unmindful of the responsibilities which the spirit if not the letter

of Sir Leoline's Will has placed upon it. The Statutes of 1882 allowed it (1) to elect the Headmaster of the school to a non-official Fellowship, (2) to increase his salary by an additional sum not exceeding £100 a year, (3) to pay another £100 per annum for the assistance of deserving boys, as long as the site and buildings of the school should continue to be vested in the College and the school itself to be under its sole government. Of this permission the College availed itself to the full extent, until a few years ago the Statute was altered, in order that the school might be placed under a scheme of the Glamorganshire County Council, the College guaranteeing in that case a yearly grant of £500. Wisely or unwisely the scheme was opposed and defeated by the Church friends of the school, and the College thereby released from all obligations except those of the original will. It has however maintained so far its annual grant, and will no doubt continue to do so, as long as the school performs useful work in the county. But in any question unadvisedly raised between Churchmen and Nonconformists, the College cannot be expected to intervene, still less by any action on its part to sanction in the nineteenth century sectarian restrictions, which Sir Leoline Jenkins, Churchman as he was, liberally abstained from imposing in the seventeenth.

§ 3. THE MEYRICKE ENDOWMENT.

Edmund Meyricke, as already stated, was elected a Fellow of the College in 1662, but resigned it during his probationary year. Short, however, as his actual residence in the College had been, his interest in it lasted

during his life, and was shown in a practical form in the Will which he made in 1712, the year before his death :

“ As for my worldly estate which God Almighty hath blessed me with above my merits or expectation I dispose thereof in the following manner : Imprimis whereas I always intended to bestow a good part of what God should please to bless me withall for the encouragement of learning in Jesus College in Oxford and for the better maintenance of six of the junior Scholars who are or shall be Scholars of the Foundation of the said College out of the six counties of North Wales : I doe give, devise and bequeath all my real and personal estate other than and besides what thereof is or shall be by this my Will or shall be by any Codicil . . . given devised and bequeathed . . . that is to say unto every one of the said six Scholars, particularly and severally the annual sum of £10 of lawfull money of Great Britain during his residence in the said College. And for the maintenance and settlement of six Exhibitioners in the said College, natives of the said six counties of North Wales, and of any or either of them, or of my kindred, if such of that number of Exhibitioners may be found. . . . I doe give to each and every of the said six Exhibitioners the annual summe of eight pounds lawfull money of Great Britain during his residence in the said College. . . . And the remainder of the yearly rents of such part of my estate. . . . I doe give devise and bequeath to and for these further uses and purposes, that is to say for the buying of advowsons for Rectories, Impropriations and Vicarages, whereto the Principal for the time being, and the Fellows of the said College shall or may, as patrons thereof, present fit persons thereto out of the said number of the said six Scholars or the said Exhibitioners.”

For the ordering and managing of the estate for the

uses and purposes relating to Jesus College four trustees were appointed, including Principal Edwards and Dr. Wynne, with the provision that the trustees should in future be the Principal and two Senior Fellows. A codicil to the Will, dated the same year, directs that £15 should be paid annually for the clothing of thirty poor scholars at the Free School of Bala, and £15 as a stipend to the schoolmaster.

The lands thus bequeathed were situated in Denbighshire and Merionethshire, and at first brought in about £150 a year, and sixty years later about £190. The payments to the school at Bala and also to the North Wales Scholars and the Exhibitioners, were regularly made, but the surplus was not used for the purchase of livings. Some of it was invested in land and houses at Cheltenham and Carmarthen, the rest was allowed to accumulate. Ultimately the property greatly increased in value, and the number of Exhibitioners which it supported became much greater. Indeed, for some years before the Commission of 1857, £240 was paid to the North Wales Scholars, £240 to twenty-four Exhibitioners, while £80 was paid to the Schoolmaster at Bala and £60 for the clothing of the thirty boys. The subsequent treatment of the trust and the disposal of the accumulated surplus will be mentioned in connection with the Commissions of the present century. That these two great endowments of Sir Leoline Jenkins and Dr. Edmund Meyricke contributed largely to the usefulness of the College is undoubted; that they also made the connection with Wales closer and more exclusive than it had hitherto been is equally certain. It has already been pointed out that the

Scheme of Sir Leoline for the apportionment of Fellowships and Scholarships overrides the (in many cases) wider provisions of the early Benefactors, while the numerous poor students attracted to the College from North Wales by the Meyricke Exhibitions presented in many respects a marked contrast to the majority of English students who filled the other Colleges.

CHAPTER X

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

§ 1. DR. JOHN WYNNE, PRINCIPAL, 1712-20.

ABOUT the middle of July 1712 Principal Jonathan Edwards died in London of gout in the stomach, from which he had suffered for many years. His last entry in the Register is on May 19, in a very shaky and feeble hand. His death was unfortunately followed by a bitterly contested and subsequently disputed election. As what took place has been described by Hearne in his Diary, possibly with some exaggeration and bias, but substantially in conformity with the facts, as shown by the entries in the Register, it would be affectation to draw a veil over this regrettable incident in these pages. The best known and most influential of the Fellows was Dr. John Wynne, the Vice-Principal, a native of Flintshire, Fellow of the College since 1687, and Margaret Professor of Divinity since 1705. He had identified himself with the Whig principles, was a friend and admirer of Locke, of whose *Essay on the Human Understanding* he had published an abridgment, and had, according to Hearne, maintained his Whiggish and republican principles "publicly in Coffee houses" even since he had been made Professor. Added to this, he was a man of considerable ambition, and had,

no doubt, during the failing years of Principal Edwards looked upon the Headship as due to his own position and seniority. But his opinions were too pronounced, especially in a College with the somewhat anti-Whiggish traditions of Jesus, to be an entirely acceptable candidate to all the Fellows. He was aware that he would be opposed, and that the Fellows were divided into two very equal parties. The Senior Fellow, Mr. Tremallier, on the Channel Islands foundation, who, in case of equality, would have a casting vote, was known to be against him, while another of the Senior Fellows, John Ellis, was also likely to be an antagonist. It so happened that there were circumstances in the case of both of these which made their continued retention of their Fellowships of doubtful legality. Ellis had accepted two years before the Living of Llandwrog, the income of which, it was alleged, was above the value allowed to a Fellow by the Statutes. Tremallier had been absent from Oxford for several years, had failed to take his Doctor's degree, as required by the Statutes, and had recently, it was reported, married a wife. But whatever may have been the legal force of these contentions, it was unfortunate, and open to misconstruction, that action was only taken against Ellis some eight days after the death of the Principal, when the Vice-Principal, "*ex assensu Principalis et majori parte sociorum . . . dictum locum pronuntiavit vacuum.*" For two years the violation of the Statutes, if violation there was, had been connived at, nor had Ellis had, so his friends asserted, the three "*admonitiones*" that the Statutes enjoined. As for the alleged assent of the deceased Principal, that was stated to be contained in a

letter written from his sick-bed, but no such letter was actually produced. It was still more open to misconstruction that Tremallier's Fellowship was only declared vacant by the Vice-Principal, not this time "ex assensu Principalis" but "nullo existente Principali" on the morning of the very day, August 11, appointed for the election of a new Principal.

When the Fellows assembled in the Chapel, both Ellis and Tremallier appeared in their places. The other candidate for the Principalship was James Harcourt, a native of Brecknockshire, but educated at the Charterhouse. He had been a Fellow since 1704, and had recently been made Canon of Bristol. According to Hearne, he was "a gentleman of quite different principles," and maintained a good fair character in other respects. Each candidate had six votes in addition to his own, but Tremallier, being the Senior Fellow, possessed the casting vote and procured the election of Mr. Harcourt. Upon this some unseemly confusion seems to have taken place. Tremallier at once administered the oaths to Harcourt and conducted him to the Principal's seat, while the other party in a disorderly manner protested against this action and declared Dr. Wynne to be Principal, a Mr. Jones (as it is reported) attempting to pull Mr. Harcourt out of the Principal's seat, and another protesting in the Chapel that "he would die in the cause." However, for the moment victory lay with the other side, and Mr. Harcourt took precedence in leaving the Chapel. Dr. Wynne, however, had the Register in his keeping, and his party immediately proceeded to make an entry in it to the effect that he had been elected Principal, "*sed propter causas*

quasdam ab omnibus sociis approbatas reliqua quae praestanda erant juxta Statutorum praeceptum in diem 13 ejusdem mensis prorogata sunt."

Accordingly, on the 13th, Dr. Wynne and his supporters proceeded again to the Chapel, and this time the oath having been administered to Dr. Wynne, he was in his turn conducted to the Principal's seat. It was then agreed by both sides to refer the matter to the Visitor, and that meantime "neither of the candidates should come to prayers in the Chapel for fear of renewing the disturbance in that sacred place, nor take possession of the Principal's Lodgings." The feeling of the University seems to have been on Mr. Harcourt's side, partly, no doubt, out of sympathy with his "better principles," but partly on the merits of the case. Legal opinion was also mainly on the same side—notably the Attorney-General and the Regius Professor of Law. The Visitor took a long time to determine the matter, but at last, on March 17, 1713, gave it to Dr. Wynne, "at which," says Hearne, "I am not at all amazed, considering that the Doctor is in the same Whiggish interest with my Lord."

It was possibly owing to the same interest that Dr. Wynne a year later was made Bishop of St. Asaph, an appointment which, according to Hearne, "was not so much as talked of or dreamt of in Oxford." For the next six years Dr. Wynne continued to hold his position of Principal of Jesus College and Bishop of St. Asaph, the Register being regularly signed Johannes Asaph, while he received his salary in the Account Book as "Rt. Rev. the Principal." One would imagine that either the Diocese or the College or both must have suffered

from this pluralism. However, in June 1720 he did resign the Principalship on his marriage, and in 1729 he was translated to the See of Bath and Wells, which he held for sixteen years, dying in 1743. One of his sons, Sir William Wynne, at one time Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, lived till 1815, and a daughter died in 1822 at the age of ninety-eight. There is a portrait of the Bishop in the College Hall.

§ 2. WILLIAM JONES, 1720-25; EUBULE THELWALL, 1725-27; THOMAS PARDO, 1727-63; HUMPHREY OWEN, 1763-68; JOSEPH HOARE, 1768-1802.

His place in the College was taken by William Jones, a native of Carmarthenshire, who was Fellow from 1699 to 1707, when he accepted the Rectory of Longworth. He was only Principal five years, and dying, was succeeded by Eubule Thelwall, a member of the Denbighshire family who had been elected to a Fellowship from St. Mary Hall in 1703, and had succeeded his predecessor as Rector of Longworth. He outlived his promotion two years only, dying in 1727, when Thomas Pardo was elected Principal.

Pardo was a native of Kidwelly, Carmarthenshire, and matriculated in 1704. He was elected Fellow in 1711, and though holding successively several Welsh benefices, he continued to hold his Fellowship till his election to the Principalship. From 1749-53 he was Chancellor of St. David. He was Principal till 1763, a period of thirty-six years.

On the death of Dr. Pardo in 1763, Dr. Humphrey Owen, Bodley's Librarian, was elected Principal. Owen was one of the small number of North Wales Principals,

being born in 1712 in Montgomeryshire. A Scholar in 1723, and Fellow in 1726, he was Rector of Tredington in 1744, resigning his Fellowship the next year. In 1747, however, he came back to Oxford as Bodley's Librarian, a post which he held till his death. As a Librarian he seems to have been respectable if not distinguished. It was he who moved the Arundel Marbles into a special room, and received among other gifts the valuable Rawlinson MSS. His correspondence with Rawlinson and others prove him to have been a pronounced Jacobite.

Dr. Owen was succeeded in the Librarianship on his death in 1768 by Dr. John Price, another Jesus man, who had been Janitor in 1757 and Sub-Librarian in 1763, while since 1765 he had been the acting Librarian. There was a close contest for the post between him and Mr. Cleaver of Brasenose, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph. The votes were exactly equal, and Price, as Senior, was nominated by the Vice-Chancellor. He occupied the post for forty-five years, not, it is to be feared, with unmixed advantage to the Library. In 1787, Dr. Beddoes of Pembroke issued a printed memorial to the Curators "concerning the state of the Bodleian Library and the conduct of the Principal Librarian." In this the Librarian was charged with great laxity in regard to attendance, being always absent on Saturdays and Mondays, as on these days he had to journey to and from a curacy (North Leigh) eleven miles distant. He was also said to have had little knowledge of foreign publications. A curious paper is still preserved at the Bodleian in illustration of the somewhat irregular opening of the

Library at this time. It was affixed to the outer door of the Library on Saturday, April 19, 1806, by some student who presented himself and found the door shut, and contained the following text: 'Ουαί ὑμῖν ὅτι ἤρατε τὴν κλεῖδα τῆς γνώσεως· αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσῆλθετε καὶ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἐκωλύσατε.

It is only fair to Mr. Price, however, to say that, in a biographical notice of him after his death in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, a much more favourable account is given. He is said

“to have acquitted himself in the discharge of the public duties in the University with the highest credit, and deservedly conciliated the esteem of others by his readiness to communicate information from the rich literary stores over which he presided, and of which he was a most zealous and watchful guardian.”

During the long period from 1747–1813, during which Bodley's Librarian was a Jesus man, it was natural that many other members of the College should have received posts in the Library. Among them may be noticed Adam Thomas, a Fellow of the College, Sub-Librarian under Dr. Owen and John Walters, afterwards Headmaster of Cowbridge and Ruthin Schools, who, while still an undergraduate Scholar, was Sub-Librarian in 1780, and published a volume of poems containing among other things a description of the Library. Edward Morgan was Sub-Librarian some time before 1787, and another Jesus man, Thomas Whitney, B.A., appears from an inscription on some oak shelves to have been an official in 1785. When Price died in 1813, he was succeeded as Librarian by Bulkeley Bandinel, a

son of James Bandinel, who was Charles I.'s Fellow from 1754-76, Public Orator, and first Bampton Lecturer.

On Humphrey Owen's death the choice of the Fellows fell upon Joseph Hoare of Cardiff, who was Fellow and constantly resident in the College from 1734-62. In that year, being already a Prebendary of Westminster, he accepted the Living of Longworth, resigned his Fellowship and married. He was the first married Principal in the College, and had to receive from the Visitor on his election special dispensation from that part of the usual oath "*de matrimonio non contracto neque contrahendo.*" He retained the Principalship till the end of the century.

Of the internal state of the College during all this time we have next to no information. The Registers contain little but the names of those successively elected to Scholarships and Fellowships. A certain amount of lethargy seems to have fallen upon the Society. It was becoming more prosperous as its estates increased in value, but there is no corresponding increase in prestige or intellectual activity. The number of students in the College, if somewhat less than in the preceding period, was still considerable. In 1740 there were seventy resident besides the Foundationers.

But the attraction to poor students from the lower ranks of life, offered by the Exhibitions which the Meyricke endowment provided, was tending in some measure to change the social standing of a large proportion of its members. We no longer find such names as Vaughan, Salesbury, and Stradling appearing as frequently as before in the Buttery lists. The Fellows, though many of them attained ecclesiastical preferments

of importance in Wales, were seldom known or distinguished outside the Principality. No doubt the College was, to a certain extent, fulfilling the aims of its Benefactors, and doing much to extend higher education, as it was then understood, among classes in the Principality which would otherwise have been excluded from it. But the interests within the College must have been considerably narrowed by its almost exclusively national character. It was undoubtedly, in a great measure, due to this cause that, whereas other Colleges, even during this century of comparative stagnation, produced men of eminence in all departments of politics and literature, the Fellows of Jesus became, with a few notable exceptions, what indeed, by the statutes of the College, they were almost bound to become, Welsh clergymen. But the new class of students, already alluded to, coming mainly from the small farmer class, if they seldom reached academic distinction and added few names to English history or science or literature, did at least keep the College in touch with the Principality, and what was even more important, did in many cases exercise a very considerable influence upon their countrymen. If the College in any way rendered possible such careers as those of Charles of Bala, David Richards, Thomas Coke, and many other popular Welsh poets or preachers or writers, it cannot be said to have failed in its mission of usefulness to Wales and Welshmen which its Benefactors intended to promote.

§ 3. THE BUILDINGS.

It was at the beginning of the eighteenth century that the second Quadrangle was completed by the building of

the north-west corner, where the Meyricke Library is now situated. This was accomplished in the last year of Principal Edwards, and was actually finished just after his death, and probably with the legacy of £600 which he left the College. The same Principal is said during his life to have spent £1000 in the internal adornment of the Chapel; whether actually so much was spent, or whether the £1000 included the already mentioned £600, is not certain, nor does it appear how the money was spent, but the wording of his epitaph, "sacellum ea qua cernis elegantia adornavit," seems to show that the work was concentrated on the chancel, and must, therefore, have been removed in the ill-considered restoration of 1864.

In 1736 we find from the Account Book that the present Senior Common Room or Bursary was ceiled, wainscoted, and fitted at a cost of £52 4s. 5d., while the Common Room Garden to the west of the College was enlarged, and the walls thrown farther back in order to lighten the Bursary. The prints of the College in Williams' *Oxonia Depicta* of 1733 show the Inner Quadrangle completed, and the old Quadrangle substantially in the same condition as in Loggan's view of about sixty years earlier. But before 1740, in which the *Oxford Almanack* has a view of the College, the original gables over the front of the Principal's Lodgings had been taken down and battlements put in their place, though the gables in the rest of the Quadrangle still remained. It was not till 1815 that, in order to give uniformity to the old Quadrangle, the gables were uniformly taken down and replaced with the battlements which now run all round, even along the eastern



From a photograph by the

INTERIOR OF THE COMMON-ROOM

[Oxford Camera Club

side of the Dining Hall. In 1756, under Principal Pardo, and partly, as the Account Book shows, with his money, the whole of the eastern or Turl Street front of the College underwent a complete transformation. The Elizabethan portico and the original structure by Dr. Hugh Price gave way to a new portal of rustic work shown in Basire's engraving of Turner's picture, and the whole front of the College was refaced in the domestic style of architecture of the period, with oblong sashed windows, uniform in all three storeys, the gables of the original building being removed. The College front retained this somewhat incongruous appearance until 1854. Two regrettable changes in the interior of the Dining Hall were made in the eighteenth century. In Woods' time, and probably well into the eighteenth century, the windows of the Hall were adorned with a large number of painted coats-of-arms. These were removed possibly when the fine bay-window with eight lights was inserted on the western side behind the High Table. A more important alteration was made when the fine open roof with oak beams, a drawing of which is to be seen in Alderman Fletcher's copy in the Bodleian of Wood's Colleges and Halls, was covered up by the plaster ceiling, very good of its kind, which was made about the middle of the century. This is usually attributed to Principal Hoare, the first married Principal, but not on very definite evidence. Quite possibly, the change goes back to Principal Pardo's time, under whom, in 1741, a considerable sum was spent on the Hall, half of it being paid to the plasterer. There are traditions in the College, descending through old College servants, that there

was originally a Minstrels' Gallery at the lower end of the Hall, over the Thoroughfare. It is hoped that within a few years the Hall will be restored to its original condition.

§ 4. MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGE.

A good instance of the humble but meritorious students who came to the College in the eighteenth century is Abraham Richard, whose father was a tailor and the keeper of a public-house at Ystrad Meurig in Cardiganshire. He was born in 1711 and attended successively the schools at Hereford and Carmarthen, and after some interval he was enabled, at the age of twenty-two, to enter Jesus College. During his College course he supported himself in the vacations by teaching a school, which he collected in the church at Ystrad Meurig. It was here that his more famous brother Edward Richard was first taught, who subsequently became the founder of the well-known Grammar School at Ystrad Meurig, which has done such good work in Wales.

Ellis Wynne of Lasynys, near Harlech, in Merionethshire, entered the College in 1692. He took no Degree, but remained in Oxford for several years and was then ordained, holding the Livings of Llanvair and Llandanwg. He gained a great reputation for his Welsh prose writings, his best known work, published in 1703, being *Gweledigaethau y Bardd Cwsg*—*The Visions of the Sleeping Bard*. He also translated into Welsh Jeremy Taylor's *Rule and Exercise of Holy Living*, and

on the commission of the Welsh Bishops superintended a new edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Equally typical of the same class of Welsh student, though exceptional in his talent, was Goronwy Owen, the son of a tinker of Anglesey. After attending a village school in his own neighbourhood, possibly one of Griffith Jones' "circulating schools," he went to the Friar's School, Bangor, for four years, and then probably with the help of friends entered Jesus College in 1742. He studied at Oxford for three years but took no Degree; he was, however, ordained, and, almost immediately marrying, settled down to clerical and scholastic work first in Wales, then in England, being for some time a schoolmaster and curate at Donnington in Shropshire. It was here that he first became known as a writer of Welsh poetry, publishing, in about 1751, *Cywydd y Farn Fawr—Lay of the Last Judgment*—as well as other odes. With the encouragement of Lewis Morris, the antiquary and poet, he continued to write the same kind of poetry. Celtic scholars speak in the highest terms of the purity and suppleness of his Welsh style—a style not unaffected by his classical training at Oxford. He was, however, somewhat of a rolling stone. From Donnington he went to Liverpool, from Liverpool to London, from London to Virginia, seldom remaining long in any position, and more than once getting into trouble from the habits of intemperance which he perhaps inherited from his father. He died in Virginia in 1769. His works have been more than once collected, the last edition having been published in 1876, and occupy a high place in the national literature.

Another poet, who though a Welshman wrote in English, was Evan Lloyd of Llanycil, Merionethshire, born in 1734. He entered the College in 1751, and was elected Scholar in 1755. After his ordination, he was presented to the Living of Llanvair Dyffryn Clwyd in Denbighshire, where he wrote a number of satirical poems—*The Powers of the Pen* (1765), *The Curate and the Methodist* (1766). The last-named poem involved him in an action for libel, and during the imprisonment which followed within the King's Bench he made the acquaintance of a fellow prisoner, John Wilkes. He was also on terms of friendship with David Garrick, Colman and Churchill, with all of whom he maintained an extensive correspondence. He died in 1776 and was buried in Llanycil Church, Merionethshire, where there is the following epitaph by his friend Wilkes:

“Oh! pleasing poet, friend for ever dear,
Thy mem'ry claims the tribute of a tear :
In thee were joined whate'er mankind admire—
Keen wit, strong sense, the Poet's, Patriot's fire,
Tempered with gentleness : such gifts were thine,
Such gifts with heartfelt anguish we resign.”

Another Welsh poet who to some extent took Goronwy Owen as his model was David Richards, his bardic name being Davydd Ionawr, the son of a small farmer in Merionethshire. Compelled, much to his distaste, to work on the farm, he was taken up by Evan Evans (Ieuan Brydydd Hir), the curate of the parish, who persuaded his father to send him to Ystrad Meurig School, where he became a fair classical scholar, and showed a taste and genius for Welsh poetry. In 1774

he was enabled to enter Jesus College, which he left without a Degree, disliking the place "on account of its then dissolute character, the deficiency of its tutors and its discouragement of all learning and merit." The rest of his life he devoted to Welsh poetry, eking out for forty years a precarious livelihood by teaching in various schools in Wales. His largest poem—a portentous work of over 13,000 lines—entitled *Cywydd y Drindod* (*Ode to the Trinity*), was published in 1793 after a preparation of twenty years. Other works were a poem on *Joseph* in seven books, and another on the *Millennium*. His last years were lived in retirement near Dolgelley, where he died in 1827.

Yet another Welsh poet said to have been a Member of Jesus College, though his name does not appear in Foster, was William Wynne of Maesyneuadd, Merionethshire, who was born in 1704, and died Rector of Llangynhaval in 1760. His poems were published, among others, by Hugh Jones in the Collection called *Dewisol Ganiadau yr Oes hon*.

Very different were the careers of two other North Welshmen who belonged to the same period. Edward Edwards of Towyr, Merionethshire, spent practically his whole life—a life of learned leisure or leisurely learning—within the walls of the College. Elected to a Scholarship in 1744, he succeeded in 1747 to the additional Fellowship, which had been established out of the Leoline Jenkins endowment, as that increased in value, in 1712. This he held for thirty-nine years, being Vice-Principal for twenty-one of them (1762–83). He was apparently a good Celtic as well as a Classical Scholar, but like many other Oxford men of later times

he planned and talked of literary enterprises which he only partially carried out. He was a friend and correspondent of Dr. Johnson, and in June 1782 entertained the great man in Jesus College. We learn that a great banquet was given in his honour in the Hall, an occasion, however, which has left no other memorials behind except the high battels of the Fellows, testified to in the Buttery books during that memorable week. Dr. Edwards had evidently interested his guest in the edition of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, which he had been long preparing. In 1778 Dr. Johnson writes to him: "What comes of Xenophon? If you do not like the trouble of publishing the book, do not let your commentaries be lost: contrive that they may be published." Only the text, however, and a translation were printed in Dr. Edwards' life, and the complete edition was published after his death by Henry Owen. In 1783 he resigned his Fellowship and accepted the Rectory of Aston Clinton, but must have died within a year, as Dr. Johnson, writing in 1784 with reference to his visit to Oxford, says: "Since I was there, my convivial friend Dr. Edwards and my learned friend Dr. Wheeler are both dead."

Henry Owen of Dolgelly entered Jesus from Ruthin School in 1736 and graduated as M.A. in 1743, studying medicine for a time and taking the degree of M.D. in 1753. For two years he practised at the profession, but giving it up as unsuited to his health and his feelings, he devoted himself to theological studies mainly of a critical character, delivering the Boyle Lectures on the Scripture Miracles in 1769-72. Owen was a good and accurate Scholar. He printed and

published, as mentioned above, Dr. Edwards' edition of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, and—a still more important service to Critical Hebrew Scholarship—he carefully edited Grote's collation of the Cottonian MS. of Genesis with the Vatican copy, a work all the more necessary that the Cottonian MS. itself was burnt in 1731.

“The proofs which he has left behind him of his solid learning, sound critical talents and zeal for promoting the cause of sacred literature . . . will transmit his name with honour to posterity.”

For the last twenty years of his life he was Vicar of Edmonton in Middlesex.

Another eminent divine was William Worthington of Merionethshire, educated at Oswestry Grammar School, and said to have matriculated at Jesus. He, however, took his degree at Cambridge, but was re-incorporated at Oxford and took his B.D. and D.D. from Jesus College in 1758. He held several benefices in Wales and was Prebendary of St. Asaph. He was the author of a large number of theological works.

Very distinguished in his own line was Hugh Davies, the naturalist, born in Anglesey in 1739. Educated at Beaumaris School, he entered Jesus College in 1757, and taking orders was successively Master of Beaumaris School, Rector of Beaumaris and then of Aber. He was a botanist of considerable eminence and a Fellow of the Linnæan Society. He assisted Pennant in drawing up a complete Flora of the Isle of Man, and also in the Faunula of the second edition of his *Indian Zoology* (1692); while his own book on the *Botany of Anglesey* (1812) is a standard work.

Another typical example of the humbler class of Welshmen whom such endowments as Meyricke's attracted to the College was Thomas Charles, the son of a respectable farmer, born at Llannfihangel in Carmarthenshire in 1755. Educated first at the village school, then at Carmarthen Grammar School, he had already become a member of the Calvinistic Methodist Society when "Providence unexpectedly and wonderfully opened up his way to Oxford" and he entered Jesus College in 1775. For six years or so he held curacies in the Established Church, since the Methodists had not yet formally left its communion, but in 1783 he settled at Bala, and began his career of itinerant preaching over the whole of North Wales, introducing first the "circulating schools" and ultimately in their place the system of Sunday Schools. In this Charles of Bala, as he was called, exercised an immense influence on the religious life of North Wales—an influence aided still further by the widely circulated religious magazine *Y Drysorfa Ysprydol*, of which he was the editor, and the numerous tracts which he wrote, many of which in his lifetime went through fifty-five editions. It was with the original object of providing Welsh Bibles at a low price that the British and Foreign Bible Society was founded chiefly at Charles' instigation. It was Charles who gave Calvinistic Methodists such organisation as they possessed, while in 1810 it was due to his action in ordaining lay preachers, that they finally separated from the Established Church.

Very different and much less closely connected with Wales was the career, nearly coincident in time, of Thomas Coke, the Wesleyan Bishop and missionary.

A native of Brecon and son of a surgeon there, he was educated at the College School and entered Jesus College in 1764 as a gentleman-commoner. Something of a High Churchman at first, he became Curate of South Petherton in Somersetshire, but coming under the influence of John Wesley he threw in his lot with the new organisation, acting as President of the Irish Conference for twenty years, and in 1784 going out to America as "superintendent" of the American Methodist Societies. In America he accepted the title of "Bishop" from the American Conference, but not with Wesley's approval. He was a man of independent means and not without ambition. At the close of his life, he was even ready to return to the Established Church on condition of being appointed Bishop in India. He was one of the leading members of the Wesleyan body, taking a peculiar interest in the department of foreign missions, and it was owing to his exertions and influence that Wesleyan Methodism gained its first footing in Wales after about 1800. Coke died in 1814 on the voyage out to India.*

It is somewhat strange to find among the students of Jesus College, at this period, a character so dissimilar to the majority of his associates as Richard, afterwards known as Beau Nash. He, however, matriculated at the College in 1691, coming from Carmarthen Grammar School, with the object of qualifying himself for the legal profession. He, however, only remained in Oxford till 1693, and after a brief experience of the army, lived an idle and fashionable life as a nominal law

* The College is recently indebted to Professor Mayor of Cambridge for a "Life of Thomas Coke."

student in the Temple. Here he distinguished himself as Master of the Pageant with which William III. was entertained on visiting the Inn. Stimulated perhaps by his success in this line, he repaired to Bath, then beginning to be the resort of fashion and idleness, and in 1704 was elected Master of the Ceremonies there. For fifty years he maintained this position, organising amusements, regulating etiquette, and acting generally as *arbiter elegantiarum*. He was ordinarily called the "King of Bath," and as far as ostentation and extravagance went he lived up to the title. He lived to the age of eighty-seven, dying in 1761. His prosperity had mainly depended on the fortunes of the gaming table, and when the fickle goddess deserted him, he sank into something like penury and distress during his later years.

John Walters, born at Llandough near Cowbridge and son of a well-known lexicographer of the same name, matriculated in 1779, was elected to a Scholarship, and in 1783 to a Fellowship. He was Master first of Cowbridge and then of Ruthin School, and died Rector of Evenechtyd, at the early age of thirty, in 1789. He had the reputation of being an elegant scholar and published an edition of Roger Ascham's *Toxophilus*, and, as Poet Laureate to the Society of Royal British Bowmen, produced occasional verses of wit and merit.

CHAPTER XI

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

§ 1. DAVID HUGHES, 1802-17. HENRY FOULKES,
1817-57.

Dr. Hoare's Principalship, the longest so far in the annals of the College, flowed uneventfully on into the nineteenth century. The connection of the College with the Bodleian was not broken till the death of Dr. Price in 1813, when Dr. Bulkeley Bandinel, son of James Bandinel, one of King Charles I.'s Fellows at Jesus, succeeded to the post. Apart from this connection, few Jesus men of the period were conspicuous in University affairs. The Fellows were invariably supplied by the Scholars of the College, nor is there any instance during all this time of a Jesus man being elected into another College. Philip Eyton, who died in 1792, had for forty-seven years been Esquire Bedel in Medicine and Arts, while a Mr. Matthews died at an advanced age in 1806 after having been Esquire Bedel in Divinity for many years. He is stated to have combined that post with the office of Butler in the College. One of his sons, Andrew Hughes Matthews, was elected a Fellow in 1803, and after being Rector of Stanton-Harcourt, died as recently as 1854. The excitement of

the Continental War seems to have penetrated even into the quiet quadrangles of the Welsh College, and in 1798 we find in the account books £100 entered as the "Principal's subscription for the prosecution of the war," while in the same year he subscribed £20 "for the purchase of muskets for our members belonging to the University Corps."

In 1802 Dr. Hoare died. For years he had never been seen outside the College walls except inside the carriage in which he "took the air," if such an expression can with propriety be used in connection with an almost hermetically sealed conveyance. The circumstance of his death gave a chance to the University wits of the time. One day the old gentleman, nearly blind and quite deaf, placed the leg of his library chair upon the tail of a favourite cat. The animal, unable to gain relief by any ordinary form of remonstrance, at last clawed in desperation the Doctor's leg, and the shock and the wound together in a few days proved fatal. The following feeble stanza was circulated on the occasion:

"Poor Dr. Hoare ! he is no more ;
Bid the harp-strings of Cambria mourn ;
The Head of a House died the death of a mouse,
And Tom must be hanged in return."

On June 20, 1802, David Hughes was elected Principal. He was a native of Denbighshire, and had been a Fellow since 1774, and for some years Vice-Principal. A well-known caricature, published in 1808, depicts him as a portly and rubicund personage, and his broad pronunciation of Latin on the few occasions when he acted

as pro-Vice-Chancellor, "Aygo admitto tay in gradum," created some amusement in the University. He must, however, have had some reputation as a scholar, as he was one of the earliest Public Examiners after the institution of Class Lists, and he took a prominent part in University matters. He was for some years Rector of Besselsleigh, a post occupied by several of his successors in the Principalship. The end of Dr. Hughes was a sad one. He married, late in life, the sister, it is said, of another Head, but found the new conditions so inconsistent with the confirmed routine of so many years, that he retired to his usual coffee house in London and blew his brains out.

He was succeeded by another of the North Wales Fellows, Henry Foulkes, who retained the Principalship for forty years, in fact up to the period of the First Commission. During this long period little of interest occurred within the College; Scholar after Scholar succeeded to his Fellowship, and Fellow after Fellow succeeded either to a College living or to some minor preferment in Wales. Occasionally a good Scholar was turned out, like Robert Evans, afterwards Headmaster of Bristol Grammar School, or Henry Reynolds, who enjoyed a considerable reputation both as a Scholar and a Tutor, or Charles Williams, afterwards Principal of the College, or Thomas Briscoe, for many years Tutor, and afterwards Vicar of Holyhead, or Edmund Salisbury Foulkes, a learned theologian, and afterwards Vicar of St. Mary's; but these, it must be confessed, were exceptional cases. The College was almost exclusively Welsh, and its members mixed with those of other colleges to a very small

extent. The Fellows were usually Third Class, in many cases, indeed, Fourth Class, men, and it is impossible to believe that the tutorial arrangements were on a satisfactory footing. A few names may be mentioned of those who at this period made some mark, at any rate in Wales.

John Blackwell, a well-known Welsh poet and writer, entered the College at the mature age of twenty-seven in 1824. A native of Flintshire, and for many years a shoemaker in his native town, he had gradually by his own efforts acquired a fair education, and had in particular shown considerable poetical talent, gaining various prizes at the local Eisteddfodau. Assisted to Oxford by the liberality of his friends and admirers, he took his B.A. in 1828, and then, after four years' work as Curate at Holywell, he was appointed by Lord Chancellor Brougham to the living of Manor Deivy in Pembrokeshire. He continued to write odes and poems, a collection of which was printed at Ruthin in 1851, under the title of "*Ceinion Alun*." For a short time he was editor of the *Cylchgrawn*, a Welsh periodical similar to the *Penny Magazine*. It was, unfortunately, not a pecuniary success, but while it lasted it did much to justify the literary reputation of its editor.

Another popular Welsh poet was Daniel Evans, Daniel Ddu o Geredigion—Black Daniel of Cardigan-shire. The son of a well-to-do farmer, he was educated at Lampeter School, and entered Jesus College in 1810, where, after obtaining a Third Class in Classics, he was elected a Fellow in 1817. Though in Holy Orders, he undertook no clerical work, but resided mostly in his own country, winning prizes at Eisteddfodau and gain-

ing much favour among his compatriots as a poet. His collected works were published at Llandovery in 1831. His Fellowship he retained till the end of his life in 1846.

Another member of the College with more solid if less popular claims to remembrance was John Jones of Merionethshire, known as Tegid. He entered the College in 1814, took a Second Class in Mathematics, and after being a Chaplain at Christ Church for some years, was till 1814 Perpetual Curate of St. Thomas' at Oxford. Jones was a Welsh Scholar and antiquary of some distinction. He transcribed the *Mabinogion* and other Welsh romances from the "Red Book of Hergest," a transcript now superseded by the work of Rhŷs and Evans, and helped to edit for the Cymmrodorion Society the poetical works of Lewis Glyn Cothi. His work seems to have been to a certain extent marred by a peculiar system of Welsh spelling, which created much opposition in the Principality, and has not been adopted. In addition to his antiquarian works Jones was the author of numerous poems and hymns, published at Llandovery in 1859.

§ 2. THE FIRST COMMISSION.

The last years of Dr. Foulkes' Principalship were occupied with prolonged deliberations as to the attitude to be taken up by the College in reference to the Royal Commission appointed in 1852. It will be remembered that since 1686 the Fellowships and Scholarships had been filled up in accordance with the Indenture drawn up between the College and the Executors of Sir Leoline Jenkins. According to this,

seven Fellowships were assigned to the six counties of South Wales and Monmouthshire, seven to the six counties of North Wales, one to the English counties, and one to the Channel Islands. In addition to these sixteen Fellowships, two in accordance with Sir Leo-line's Will were added in 1702, the holders to belong to the Dioceses of St. David's or Llandaff with a preference to Cowbridge School, and to serve as Chaplains in his Majesty's fleet or in the Plantations. Owing to the increase in the value of the endowments, a nineteenth Fellowship restricted to North and South Wales alternately was founded in 1712.

Of the Scholarships seven were restricted to South Wales and Monmouthshire, seven to North Wales, and two were open to the English counties generally. Subsequently two of the three Cowbridge Exhibitions were turned into Scholarships of the same value as the rest, but with a preference to Cowbridge boys, so that there were altogether nineteen Fellowships and eighteen Scholarships, one Fellowship and two Scholarships only being open, and even these limited to members of the College and by preference to Founders' kin.

Of the Scholarships those belonging to North Wales were by far the most valuable, since a part of the Meyrické endowment was in accordance with the Will of the benefactor still employed in augmenting these, and they were worth £60 a year. Towards the augmentation of the South Wales and English Scholarships the Rev. John Nicholl, Rector of Remenham, had left in 1830 the sum of £2000, but notwithstanding this the value of the Scholarships was only £30.

In addition to the superior value of the Scholarships,

North Wales also benefited by the Meyricke Endowment in the shape of a valuable Exhibition Fund. The value of the Trust property had largely increased in the last century, and no less than £840 yearly was available for this purpose, being divided into twenty-four Exhibitions of £35 each. For South Wales, on the other hand, there was one Exhibition restricted to Cowbridge School, three Bloom Exhibitions of £55 a year confined to Carmarthenshire, and two Powell Exhibitions of £12 confined to Brecknockshire and Radnorshire.

It will be remembered that it was only by the Indenture of 1686, confirmed by Letters Patent of Charles II., that the restriction of almost the whole of the College endowments to Wales was established *de jure*. Neither in the First nor in the Second Letters Patent of Queen Elizabeth, nor in the Third of James I., nor in the Statutes of the College confirmed in 1622, had there been any kind of local restriction expressed or implied, and of the original Fellows and Scholars certainly more than one-half were not Welshmen.

In regard to the Benefactors, it has already been pointed out that in some cases local restrictions were attached to their Benefactions, in others preference was assigned to Founders' kin, which often meant practically preference to Welshmen, but that there still remained a considerable number of Fellowships and Scholarships which according to the original wills of the Benefactors should have been open without restriction.

The scheme made after Sir Leoline Jenkins' death may have been in some respects judicious, in so far as

it removed causes of jealousy between North and South Wales by dividing the Endowments equally between the two, while it is quite possible that it merely confirmed and legalised local restrictions which had *de facto* naturally followed from the interpretation of the Benefactor's wishes by an existing majority of Welsh Fellows. But it was none the less a serious interference with the actual bequests of many of the Benefactors, and as the Commission of 1852 very pertinently remarked: being based only on the ground of general expediency "it furnished a precedent for any plan for a more beneficial distribution of the Endowments than had hitherto been made."

It had, indeed, been becoming increasingly evident for years before the Commission was appointed that the exclusive connection with Wales was ruining the College as a place of education, and was to a large extent wasting valuable Endowments. Scholarships and Exhibitions were so easy for Welsh boys to obtain, that they offered very little stimulus to Welsh Schools or Welsh Schoolmasters. Welsh Schools were doubtless not alone in being disorganised and inefficient, but they were much more nearly alone in being able to count with certainty on Scholarships and Exhibitions for their boys without the need of serious competition. The natural result followed. Boys ill-trained and ill-taught became Scholars of the College and in due time its Fellows, responsible for whatever in the shape of tuition the College would afford to the next generation of Welsh boys. If the teaching in the Welsh Schools during the earlier part of this century was indifferent, it was probably at least better than the tuition provided for its

alumni by the College. Nearly half the Fellows of the period do not appear in the Class Lists at all, and of those who do, a majority are in the Third or Fourth Class.

The national character of the College was indeed at this period very much of a delusion. It drew its members almost entirely, and its Exhibitioners, Scholars and Fellows quite exclusively, not from Welshmen, but from Welsh Churchmen. The Test Acts, rigorously enforced in the University till 1871, excluded Nonconformists not only from a degree, but from any share in the endowments of the Colleges. This was no doubt disadvantageous to all, but Jesus it affected in a specially fatal degree. Since the latter part of the last century Nonconformity had been acquiring a firmer and greater hold on the Welsh population, and especially on that part of the Welsh population—the farmer and lower middle class—from which Jesus had of late been mainly supplied. The College, therefore, did not draw from the Welsh population as a whole, but from a dwindling minority of it. Nor did it even draw equally from the whole of episcopal Wales. The superior advantages offered to the North Wales Scholars and Exhibitioners by the Meyricke endowments had produced a widespread impression that Jesus was a North Wales College, and it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that for years the College had mainly drawn its members from a sectarian minority in the less populous half of the Principality.

It was no wonder that the College enjoyed a low reputation in the University, and it would seem to

have been no great advantage to Welshmen to come to the "National College" under such conditions. At the same time Wales was comparatively a poor country, Welshmen were ineligible for the Scholarships of most of the Colleges, in which all kinds of local restrictions were still in force, and yet without the help of Scholarships or Exhibitions it was impossible for most of them to obtain the advantages of a University education. There was much to be said for maintaining the "National" character of Jesus College as long as that term was used in a wider sense, and as long as certain reforms were introduced.

And reforms were in the air. The Commissioners, appointed in 1852, were known to be generally in favour of abolishing local restrictions. There was a party among the Fellows, and apparently the Principal Dr. Foulkes was in sympathy with them, who were inclined to go some way at least in meeting the views of the Commissioners. The restrictions within Wales itself, at any rate, in the shape of preferences for the North or South, for particular Dioceses or counties or towns or families, however admirable they may have been at an earlier time, were clearly in every way a disadvantage to the College now, and often prevented it from securing the best candidates. Illustrations of this may often be traced in the Class Lists of the time, when Third Class men got Fellowships, when Second Class men failed to do so merely from the accident that no Fellowship exactly answering to their local qualifications happened to be vacant at the time. The same anomalies must often have occurred in connection with the Scholarships, while it must often have happened

that the twenty-four Meyricke Exhibitions, limited as they were to North Wales, fell to inferior candidates. Moved no doubt by these considerations, a committee of the Fellows appointed in December 1853 to consider changes in regard to Fellowships, Scholarships, and Exhibitions, was agreed in the following recommendations :

“(1) Since the various benefactions of the College were intended to benefit the Principality of Wales and to promote the cultivation of learning in natives of that country, that all limitations to Schools, Counties, Dioceses and Divisions of Wales into North and South should be removed, and the seventeen Fellowships thrown open to natives of the Principality.

“(2) That the sixteen Welsh Scholarships should be similarly thrown open.

“(3) That candidates need not be members of the College.

“(4) That Exhibitions be open to natives of the Principality without limit to place of birth.

“(5) That the value of all Scholarships be equalised.”

To these five recommendations a sixth was added, when a year later a scheme approved by the College was sent up to the Commissioners.

“(6) That four Fellowships be suppressed, two for the endowment of a Professor of Welsh, two to be attached to the Principality in exchange for the impropriate tithes.”

In the first half of the following year 1855 the Commissioners were engaged in examining the Letters Patent, the wills of benefactors, including the Indenture of

1687, and the Will and Codicil of Edmund Meyricke. The result of this examination is given in the following passage from the Report.

“The local restrictions of this College are in some respects peculiar. The result of the numerous limitations of the benefactions, before and since the Statutes were imposed, has been the almost entire closing of a College which in the face of its Statutes presents no restrictions whatever. Whether the original Founder had any intention of confining his College to Wales is difficult to ascertain. No such intention is expressed in the Charter given at his request by Queen Elizabeth, and of the eight Fellows and eight Scholars appointed in the first instance by that Sovereign, two certainly (Andrewes and Dove) and probably (to judge by their names) the larger part were not of Welsh extraction.”

On the whole the Commissioners report :

“We have no hesitation in applying to this College the principle which we have laid down in our general report, and in recommending that the Fellowships shall be thrown open without restrictions of age, birthplace, or parentage to all Bachelors of Arts. At the same time, when we consider the peculiar circumstances of the Principality of Wales, we feel that for the present, at least, it offers an exception to the rule which we have laid down for the entire abolition of local limitations. We shall therefore propose to throw open the Fellowships of the College, but to retain the connection of one-half of the Scholarships with Wales, provided, however, that the foundation so restricted shall be open not, as now, to particular counties, schools and families, but to the whole Principality.”

It was not, however, without a considerable struggle that the College would in any way consent to the

changes proposed with regard to the Fellowships and Scholarships.

In May 1855 the Commissioners

“(1) came to the conclusion that the opening of a large proportion of the Fellowships to general competition is necessary, not only for the general purpose of the College, as expressed in its Charters and Statutes, but also for the particular purpose of giving a superior education to Welsh students :”

while in April 1856 we find them deciding

“to throw open all the Fellowships as essential not only to the general objects of the College as expressed in its Charters and Statutes, but also for its special function as a place of Welsh education, to secure for it the benefit of first-rate tuition ;”

but at the same time giving way on the question of the Scholarships and consenting to preserve the whole of the Undergraduate Endowments for Wales, and to increase their number and value, abolishing, however, all local restrictions within Wales.

Later in the same year the Commissioners sent the College a printed draft of the ordinances they proposed to make, containing further concessions in connection with the Fellowships. The most important points in the Draft were these :

“(1) One moiety of the Fellowships was to be Welsh, and one moiety open ; eligibility to Welsh Fellowships being (a) birth in Wales, (b) education for two years at Bangor, Beaumaris, Bottwnnog, Abergavenny, or Cowbridge Schools.

"(2) All the sixteen Welsh Scholarships to remain limited (a) to natives of Wales, (b) to boys educated for two years at the above mentioned Schools.

"(3) The Welsh Scholarships to be increased from sixteen to twenty by the suppression of four Fellowships.

"(4) The Channel Islands' Fellowships to be converted into not less than two Scholarships.

"(5) All Scholarships to be £80 per annum.

"(6) The Meyricke, Bloom and Powell Exhibitions to be distributed into twenty Exhibitions of £40 a year each, open under the same conditions as the Welsh Scholarships.

"(7) One Fellowship to be devoted to the Laudian Professor of Arabic.

"(8) The Principal to lose his present powers of veto, but in lieu of them to have two votes at College Meetings.

"(9) Four of the Fellows to be exempted from the necessity of taking Holy Orders."

To the last three points the College was reluctant to agree, not without some reason objecting in regard to (7) that their own suggestion of a Celtic Professorship was more appropriate to the associations of the College, and on this point the Commissioners to a certain extent gave way, applying the Fellowship in question "to such purposes in connection with Professoriate as may hereafter be decided upon."

A much more strenuous opposition was offered by the College to the proposal that qualifications for Welsh Fellowships, Scholarships, and Exhibitions should be constituted by education for two years at certain Welsh schools, as potentially breaking down altogether the restrictions to Welshmen.

With great moderation and consideration for the strong feeling of the College the Commissioners made

still further concessions. While insisting on education at Welsh schools, though for four instead of two years, being taken as a qualification for the Scholarships, they conceded Welsh birth as the sole qualification for the Welsh Fellowships and Exhibitions, though pointing out that birth in Wales by no means excluded Englishmen, and with regard to the Fellowships they added as a further qualification—knowledge of the Welsh language—a qualification which had always been necessary for the tenure of the Backhouse Fellowships. On these conditions the Ordinances of the Commissioners were finally accepted by the College in April 1857.

Jesus College therefore to a very large extent was left by the First Commission the “National College” which it had so long claimed to be. All the Scholarships with the exception of two and all the Exhibitions were still restricted to Wales and Monmouthshire, though in the case of the Scholarships the Welsh qualification might be constituted by education for four years at certain specified Welsh schools, to which the College might at its discretion add others. But all local restrictions within Wales were very wisely abolished. The Meyricke endowment was no longer limited to North Wales, and all the Scholarships were raised to the value of £80, their number being at the same time increased to twenty-two by the suppression of four Fellowships. The Ordinances with respect to Fellowships was finally put into this form :

“It shall be lawful for the Principal and Fellows, if and so long as they shall deem it expedient for the interests of education in connection with the Principality of Wales, from time to time to divide the Fellowships as nearly as

may be into two moieties, whereof one moiety shall be termed Welsh Fellowships and shall be filled up by the election of natives of Wales or Monmouthshire, if any such be found of sufficient merit, and fit to be Fellows of the College in the judgment of the electors. In elections to two Welsh Fellowships the Principal and Fellows shall require that the candidates shall be able to speak the Welsh language. . . . Subject to these provisions no person shall be either entitled to preference or ineligible, in elections to Fellowships within the College, by reason of his place of birth or place of education, or by his age or pecuniary circumstances, or of his being or not being of the name or kindred of any persons named in any instrument of foundation, or of his being or not being able to speak the Welsh language, or of having or not having taken any degree, or being or not being a Scholar or member of the College."

§ 3. PERIOD OF TRANSITION.

The condition of the College after the Commissioners of 1852 had completed their work was to a great extent a compromise. Wisely or unwisely, point after point had been conceded to the strenuous resistance within the College, so that the only two changes of first-rate importance, as affecting the relations of the College to Wales, were the abolition of local preference within the Principality and the division of its Fellowships into two halves, one open and one Welsh. As practically all the Scholarships and Exhibitions were still limited to Wales, the undergraduate members of the College were bound to be in the main Welsh, and an examination of the Calendars of the following years proves that this was almost entirely the case. The new arrangement with

regard to Fellowships was intended mainly to import more efficient tutors into the College, but the alteration was naturally somewhat slow in taking effect, as vacancies only occurred gradually and at uncertain intervals, and for a considerable number of years the tuition still remained mostly in the hands of the Welsh Fellows. Not, of course, that efficiency was incompatible with Welsh birth. All who have known the College in recent years can at once supply instances to upset so absurd a generalisation, and notably the mathematical teaching of the College has for many years been in the hands of one who is at once a Welshman and one of the most brilliant mathematicians in the University. Still, from one cause or another the change did not produce all the improvement in the standard of the College which had been perhaps too sanguinely anticipated. In point of fact the continued restriction of all the Scholarships and Exhibitions to Wales was proved to be thoroughly bad, both for the Welsh students and for the College. All that was said against the retention before the First Commission could still be said since. The Welshmen who came to Jesus felt to the smallest extent the stimulus of competition; it was easy for those of the most ordinary attainments and quite moderate diligence to obtain if not a Scholarship at least an Exhibition, and undoubtedly many were induced in this way to come up to Oxford who got very little advantage to themselves out of their residence in the University, and reflected very little credit on the College which provided them with the means of coming. The evidence given by Mr. Thursfield—whose admirable services to the College are alone sufficient to defend the

work of the First Commission from undue depreciation—and published in the report of the Second Commission, emphatically proves this point. But in some ways things were even less satisfactory than they had been. Before the Commission almost all the other Colleges had numerous local restrictions of all kinds, and as a matter of fact there were very few Colleges indeed at which Welsh students were eligible for Scholarships, and as long as this was the case there was something to be said for the continued protection of Welsh interests at Jesus. But the Commission, while making such large concessions to the Welsh College, had almost entirely removed restrictions elsewhere, so that Welshmen could now appear as candidates at practically all the Colleges. This was an excellent thing for them and for Welsh schools. The stimulus, which the old system of protection and exclusion had failed to provide, was now present, and naturally the best Welsh boys preferred to stand as candidates at Colleges which would introduce them to fresh associations and a wider horizon. There was therefore from this time a tendency, if it was nothing more, for the best boys from the Welsh schools to go as Scholars or Exhibitioners to other Colleges, and for the Welsh Scholarships at Jesus to fall to those who were unable to obtain open Scholarships elsewhere. Thus while the number of Welsh Scholarships was largely increased, the number of candidates for them was diminished by the subtraction of the cleverest boys.

But while it is to a certain extent true that the new Ordinances made things at once too easy and too difficult for Welsh boys—too easy, perhaps, to obtain the pecuniary assistance necessary for a University career, too

difficult, owing to the isolation in which Jesus College stood in the University, to gain all the advantages and associations of such a career—the College none the less owes to its Welsh connection even at this critical period many useful and distinguished members, of whom it will always cherish a proud and grateful remembrance.

In speaking of the *alumni* of the College belonging to the second half of the present century, some of whom are living, others only recently dead, it will be felt that a certain reticence will be appropriate, and indeed little more than an enumeration of a very few of the principal names can be attempted.

Three who belonged to the earlier portion of this period, all elected by the College to be Honorary Fellows, may appropriately come first, two still living, one prematurely cut off.

Lewis Morris entered the College as a Commoner in 1852, and after gaining the highest academical distinctions, a First Class in Moderations, and in Greats, took his B.A., and gained the English Essay in 1858. Nothing but the possession of more than the statutable amount of property prevented his election to a Fellowship. But perhaps what the College lost, the rest of the world may have gained by this disqualification. At least Jesus is proud to claim in him the last, but not the least, of the many poets who have presumably found a residence in the National College not unfavourable to the inspiration of the Muses.

Another not less distinguished *alumnus* entered the College, as one of the open or English Scholars, in 1855—John Richard Green. Though neither gaining nor seeking academical distinctions, Green already showed,

while a member of the College, some signs of the literary and historical interests which have since earned him so brilliant a reputation. A series of papers which he contributed to the *Oxford Chronicle* on Oxford in the Eighteenth Century are a proof of this ; and there are, no doubt, members of the College still living who remember the short-lived publication of a College magazine called *The Druid*. Green's later connection with the College was only slight, but his election as Honorary Fellow was only a fitting recognition of a most distinguished literary career.

A few years later than Green—in 1859—William Boyd Dawkins was elected a Scholar of the College, and after gaining a First Class in the recently created Natural Science School was the first to be elected to the Burdett-Coutts Scholarship in 1861. His reputation as a Geologist and his work as Professor at Owen's College, Manchester, are familiar to the scientific world.

To the same decade belong two Mathematical Scholars of great distinction — David Thomas and John Griffiths—both of whom gained successively the Junior and Senior University Mathematical Scholarships, the latter remaining in his own College, where many generations of younger mathematicians have profited by his tuition, the former being elected a Fellow of Trinity.

Another Welsh Scholar from Llanrwst School, who gained the highest Classical honours—Henry Llewelyn Browne—was also lost to Jesus by his election to a Fellowship at Queen's.

So, too, though fortunately only for a time, was John Rhys, who entered the College in 1865, and after taking

the highest Classical Honours was elected to a Fellowship at Merton in 1870, at the same time leaving Oxford for the work of an Inspector of Schools in North Wales. But the reputation which he had already acquired, and was yearly during this period increasing, for a scientific knowledge of the Celtic languages and literatures, marked him out for a more academical career, and when the Celtic Professorship was established in 1876, his election brought him back to Oxford and to his old College, of which he became Fellow in 1881.

To the next two decades belong Thomas Llewelyn Thomas, so familiar a figure in the College from his election as Fellow in 1882 till his lamented death two years ago ; Rupert Morris, for some years Head Master of Godolphin's School, Hammersmith ; William Hawker Hughes, the present Bursar and Senior Tutor, who for a quarter of a century has been the " guide, philosopher and friend " of Jesus undergraduates ; Daniel Lloyd, who, after being Head Master successively of Dolgelly Grammar School, the Friars' School, Bangor, and Christ's College, Brecon, was made Bishop of Bangor in 1890 ; W. J. Lewis, who after the highest Mathematical Honours was elected Fellow of Oriel and Professor of Mineralogy at Cambridge ; W. W. Fowler, at once the popular and efficient Head Master of Lincoln Grammar School and one of the greatest authorities on Coleoptera ; H. W. Lloyd-Tanner, for many years a Professor at the University College, Cardiff, and recently elected a Fellow of the Royal Society ; A. G. Edwards, Warden of Llandovery College and now Bishop of St. Asaph ; John Owen, Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter, and now Bishop of St. David's ; and Edward Bagnall

Poulton, Fellow of the Royal Society and Hope Professor of Zoology.

During the whole of the interval between the two Commissions, the College had been under the wise and prudent management of Dr. Charles Williams, who had been elected Principal on the death of Dr. Foulkes in 1857. Educated at Cowbridge School, he had matriculated in 1823, and after gaining a First Class in Classics and a Second in Mathematics, he was elected a Fellow in 1830. As a College Tutor, and afterwards as Head Master of Ruthin School, he had the reputation of being an excellent scholar and a strict disciplinarian. In 1855 he accepted the Perpetual Curacy of Holyhead, and seemed to have severed his connection with Oxford. In 1857, however, it was on him that the choice of the Fellows fell; and for the next twenty years—years, as already pointed out, of transition—and, therefore, not without their special difficulties, Dr. Williams continued to hold the Principalship. So many living members of the College remember well his kindly if somewhat caustic personality, and are familiar with the many anecdotes illustrating his precise and old-fashioned notions as to College etiquette and propriety, that it seems hardly appropriate for one who only remembers the last year or two of his *régime* to attempt any account of its more personal side.

§ 4.—THE SECOND COMMISSION.

The vacancy created by his death in 1877 was filled by the election of Dr. Harper, Head Master of Sherborne School. In many respects the new Principal was well adapted to assist the College in carrying out the changes

which the experience of twenty years had shown to be inevitable. Born in 1821 of a Staffordshire family, but connected with Wales from his father's residence for some years in Glamorganshire, Hugo Daniel Harper was educated at Christ's Hospital, till in 1840 he was elected to a Scholarship at Jesus. Gaining a First Class in Mathematics and a Second in Classics, he was elected to a Fellowship in 1845, and two years later became Head Master of Cowbridge School. Here his wonderful capacity as a schoolmaster at once showed itself, and when in 1850 he was elected Head Master of Sherborne School, he left Cowbridge flourishing and efficient. His work at Sherborne—the work of the best years of his life—is too well known to need any description in these pages, and has been sympathetically dwelt on by one of his old pupils—Mr. L. V. Lester, of St. John's.*

At the time of his election at Jesus in Nov. 1877 the Second Commission was already beginning to institute its inquiries, and Dr. Harper threw himself with characteristic energy into the task of acquainting himself with the history, position, and prospects of the College. The sacred dust of the Muniment Room was disturbed, the Letters Patent re-examined, the Wills of Benefactors re-consulted. The result of these investigations, together with the practical suggestions which Dr. Harper was prepared to make to the Commissioners, were summarised in a speech delivered at Llandoverly College in 1879. There was a very general ignorance in Wales at the time as to the past history of the College, the value of its endowments, the sources from

* *Memoirs of Hugo Daniel Harper* (Longman and Green).

which they came, and the objects for which they had been intended. To many the new Principal's views appeared revolutionary, and perhaps they were not always stated with entire discretion. A bitter and heated controversy raged in the Principality—a controversy to a very large extent based on a double misconception, a misconception as to the historical origin and position of the College, and a misconception as to the real object of the changes proposed. On the first were based the charges of “spoliation” and “robbery”; on the second the belief that the College was to be denationalised or Anglicised.

After the lapse of nearly twenty years the controversy is now a thing of the past, the remembrance of which it would be entirely useless to revive. There is probably no one to-day who would seriously maintain that the changes finally approved by the Principal and a majority of the Fellows, and embodied in the new Statutes of 1882, have had the effect either of diverting the revenues of the College from the objects which the Benefactors had in view, or of severing the connection with Wales or closing Jesus College against poor Welsh students. If the view was ever really put forward that the reputation and prestige of the College, as a part and parcel of a great University and seat of learning, were, if necessary, to be sacrificed for the sake of putting a University education within the reach of the poorest Welsh student, if it was held that Jesus should be allowed to remain “undistinguished and obscure in Oxford, if only it was doing a good work in Wales,” undoubtedly both the Commissioners and the College refused to give their assent to any such suicidal policy.

The College could only benefit Wales, could only show itself worthy of its Benefactors in the past and of its position in the present—a position which it had never been ashamed or reluctant to accept—as a National College, by offering to all its students the full advantages of an Oxford education. Experience had abundantly shown that by remaining an exclusively Welsh College it could never do this. The First Commission had seen this quite clearly, and had expressed its views unmistakably, but it had given very partial effect to them in the Ordinances of 1857. This defect the Statutes of 1882 have remedied.

The following are the most important changes introduced :

(1) With regard to the Fellowships, the principle of the division into two moieties—one Welsh, the other open—is maintained, but with certain modifications. From three to five of the Fellowships, which should not be less than eight or more than fourteen, may be made official Fellowships—*i.e.*, tenable only with the office of Tutor, Lecturer, or Bursar, and all of these are subject to no restrictions of birth, residence, or place of education. But in the election to non-official Fellowships, it is only permissible to make the Fellowship which is to be filled an open one, if “one-half of the whole number of Fellowships official or non-official, exclusive of that held *ex officio* by the Professor of Celtic and of supernumerary Fellowships and Fellowships without emolument,” is held by persons who are either natives of Wales or Monmouthshire, or have been Welsh Scholars of the College, or having been at the time of matriculation eligible to a Welsh Scholarship have been for the

eight terms preceding the Degree of Bachelor of Arts members of the College. It is therefore perfectly open to the College, if it pleases, to elect Welshmen to all its Fellowships, official or non-official, but not to make all its Fellowships open.

(2) With regard to the Scholarships, the recommendation of the First Commission has been now adopted. The Foundation Scholarships are twenty-four in number, of which three and no more are to be filled up annually as Welsh Scholarships. The qualification for these twelve Welsh Scholarships are (*a*) birth in Wales or Monmouthshire; (*b*) residence of parents in Wales or Monmouthshire for not less than seven years immediately preceding the election; (*c*) a knowledge of the Welsh language; (*d*) education at a school in Wales or Monmouthshire for three years preceding the election. The other twelve Scholarships are open without restriction to all candidates under nineteen years of age.

(3) In addition to the twenty-four Foundation Scholarships, four others are provided out of the Meyricke Fund of the same value, and requiring the same qualifications as the Welsh Foundation Scholarships, so that there are now sixteen Welsh Scholarships offered by the College, four every year. But in order to avoid the danger of inferior candidates being elected merely from want of a keener competition, it is especially enacted, that if no candidate of sufficient merit for election to a Welsh Scholarship present himself, the election shall be postponed to some other date within the ensuing year and the Scholarship thrown open for that turn.

(4) With regard to King Charles I.'s Trust, the arrange-

ment of the First Commission has been retained. Three-fourths of the endowment are now to be applied to the maintenance of Scholars and Exhibitioners, the number depending upon the revenue, the qualification for election being (a) birth in one of the Channel Islands; (b) education for two out of the three years preceding the election at either Victoria College, Jersey, or Elizabeth College, Guernsey. If no candidate shall be judged of sufficient merit for election as Scholar, the election shall be postponed to some date within the next six months, after which, in the continued absence of a qualified candidate, the Scholarship may be thrown open for that turn.

(5) The remainder of the income from the Meyricke Trust, after the assignment of £200 a year to the Meyricke Library, is applied to the establishment of a number of Exhibitions of £50 a year each, open to those who, without being Scholars, have the qualification necessary for election to a Welsh Scholarship.

(6) An "Exhibition Fund" is established (a) by the income of the Bloom, Powell, Parry, Robinson and Robson Exhibitions; (b) by a yearly sum not exceeding £150 from the general revenues; (c) by Meyricke Exhibitions for which no candidate of sufficient merit can be found. Out of this Fund a large number of terminal or minor Exhibitions are granted to members of the College who are in need of assistance. At the present time thirty members of the College receive together nearly £600 a year from this fund.

(7) It will be remembered that by the provisions of Edmund Meyricke's Will, the surplus of the yearly rents of his estates was to have been applied to the purchase

of advowsons, &c. (see p. 160). It was, however, deemed inexpedient to use the money in this way ; indeed, for many years there was very little surplus to use, though one advowson, that of Llandow in Glamorganshire, was actually bought. Gradually a considerable amount of money accumulated which was dealt with at first by the Court of Chancery and eventually came into the hands of the Charity Commissioners. Quite recently a scheme has been confirmed by which the income of this accumulation is to be applied (1) to the establishment of one or at most two Graduate Scholarships, open to graduate members of the Welsh University who desire to supplement their course in one of the University Colleges of Wales by further study at Oxford ; (2) to the increase in the number of Minor Exhibitions.

(8) The First Commission had not acceded to the suggestion of the College that the income of one Fellowship should be applied to the establishment of a Professor of Celtic, and had merely directed that it should be applied to some purpose in connection with the Professoriate of the University, while giving up its own original proposal that it should help to maintain the Laudian Professor of Arabic. The suggestion of the College was ultimately adopted, and the present Principal was elected the first Professor in 1876.

§ 5. THE COLLEGE AT THE PRESENT TIME.

Of the present position of the College I do not for obvious reasons propose to say much. Of the nine actual Fellows, one place being vacant, four only do not possess the qualifications for a Welsh Fellowship. Of

the twenty-nine Scholars ten are open, thirteen are Welsh Foundation Scholars, four are supported by the Meyricke Trust, one by that of King Charles I., and one is a Graduate Scholar from Aberystwith. Of Meyricke Exhibitioners there are twelve, while, as before mentioned, thirty members of the College benefit by the Exhibition Fund, twenty of them being Welshmen. The number of undergraduates actually in residence is about eighty, of whom forty-four are Welshmen. Of these forty-four, twenty-nine are from South Wales, fifteen from North Wales. Of the twenty-nine from South Wales, twenty can speak Welsh, of the fifteen from North Wales ten. Statistics are notoriously dry reading, but this bare statement of figures will perhaps show more convincingly than anything else that Jesus College is still far from being Anglicised.

It is however no longer exclusively Welsh, and the admixture of English boys whom the open Scholarships now bring into the College, has undoubtedly had a beneficial effect in more ways than one.

In another respect the College of to-day rests upon a wider and a firmer basis. The abolition of University Tests by the Act of 1871 has removed all the restrictions which, much to the detriment of the College, excluded Nonconformists from its endowments. A large proportion of the Undergraduates, and among them many of the most serious and promising students, now belong to those who stand outside the Welsh Church, and of whom the bigoted policy of former times deprived the College.

Dr. Harper, after some years of failing energy and power, died in the beginning of 1895, and the choice of

the Fellows fell upon Professor John Rhŷs, the first occupant of the Celtic chair. The election was in every respect a wise one. A Welshman by birth, education, and sympathy, intimately acquainted with the educational requirements of Wales, from his experience, first as an Inspector of Schools, then as a member of the Departmental Commission on Welsh Intermediate Education, the greatest authority in this country on the Celtic languages and antiquities, well versed in the College affairs from his twelve years' experience as Bursar, Professor Rhŷs seems to possess all the qualifications appropriate to the head of the "National College." Long may it flourish under his administration.



From a photograph by the

[Oxford Camera Club

EXTERIOR OF THE COLLEGE

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CHAPTER XII

MISCELLANEA

§ 1. THE PICTURES.

IN THE HALL :

On the North Wall over the High Table :

1. In the Centre: A full-length portrait of Queen Elizabeth with two cherubs holding a wreath over her head. Beneath is the following inscription: "Diva Elizabetha virgo invictissima semper Augusta plus quam Cæsarea Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ potentissima Imperatrix fidei Christianæ fortissima propugnatrix Literarum omnium scientissima Fautrix, Immensi Oceani felicissima Triumphatrix Collegii Jesu Oxon. Fundatrix."

2. On the left: Sir Leoline Jenkins, seated in a red velvet chair, on which the present Common Room chairs are presumably modelled. This picture is said to be by Tuer of Nymwegen, and was presented by Edward Wynne, Esqr., Barrister-at-Law.

3. On the right: Dr. William Thomas, a Fellow of the College, Bishop of St. David's 1677, translated to Worcester 1685 (see p. 95). The picture

was presented to the College in 1825 by Sir John English Dolben.

4. Below Queen Elizabeth, a small portrait on board of Dr. Hugh Price attributed to Holbein, but more probably by one of his school. This picture has almost certainly belonged to the College since its foundation. In 1739 it was engraved by Vertue.

On the South Wall:

5. In the Centre: a full-length portrait of Charles I. in Court robes, dated 1636, by Vandyck. The King was a benefactor of the College (see p. 77), and the portrait came from the house of Sir Leoline Jenkins after his death.

6. On the right: A half-length portrait of King Charles II. in Court robes by Lely. This picture also came from Sir Leoline Jenkins. Charles II. was a benefactor of the College by virtue of his letter to the Corporation of Abergavenny in consequence of which the Abergavenny Fellowship and Scholarship were founded (see p. 81).

7. On the left: A portrait of John Nash (1752–1835), the architect, by Sir Thomas Lawrence. Nash, the well-known architect of Regent Street, was a Welshman by birth, and was employed on various occasions by the College. By his own wish, instead of pecuniary recompense to himself for this, the College employed Sir Thomas Lawrence to paint his portrait and placed it in the Hall. It was in connection with the constant use of stucco by Nash that the following epigram was penned:

"Augustus at Rome was for building renowned,
For of marble he left what of brick he had found :
But is not our Nash, too, a very great Master ?
He finds us all brick and he leaves us all plaster."

On the West Wall :

8. A full-length portrait of Sir Eubule Thelwall as a boy standing by his mother. The history of this picture cannot be traced.

9. Over the fireplace : Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, in episcopal dress and skull cap. How the College came into possession of the picture I cannot discover. The face differs somewhat from the well-known print and probably belongs to a later period of the Bishop's life.

10. Herbert Westphaling, Bishop of Hereford, one of the earliest benefactors of the College, and a member of the second body of Commissioners appointed in 1589. At the left corner of the picture are the words, "Anno Domini 1601 obiit, ætatis suæ 67.

11. Above Bishop Westphaling is a smaller half-length portrait of a young Divine, dark and oval-faced and with thick dark hair. He apparently belongs to the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, and is in all probability Dr. Edmund Meyricke, who was Probationer Fellow in 1662, but resigned before being admitted full Fellow. Gutch states that the College possessed a portrait of Meyricke, but unfortunately it seems impossible now to decide with certainty whether this portrait or another in the Common Room is that of Meyricke.

On the East Wall:

12. Dr. John Wynne, Principal of the College in 1712, Bishop of St. Asaph in 1714, translated to Bath and Wells 1727.

13. A portrait of a Divine in white wig, belonging to the latter half of the eighteenth century.

14. A small portrait of Dr. Charles Williams, Principal from 1857-1877, "ex dono heredum."

IN THE BURSARY OR COMMON ROOM:

1. Over the mantelpiece: A half-length portrait of Queen Elizabeth on boards with a fan in one hand and a sprig in the other. The picture is dated 1590.

2-4. On the South Wall there are three pictures the history of which is no longer remembered.

On the right is the portrait of an old woman with a black wide-awake hat, and features of a distinctly Welsh type. On her right shoulder and with its paw under her chin is a black monkey, and in her left hand is apparently a pear.

In the centre is the portrait of a young man in red doublet and blue cloak of about the time of Charles II. There is a tradition that it represents some former Earl of Pembroke, but what the authority for this may be I cannot say.

On the left is an interesting picture of a personage with a long wig and bands, clearly belonging to about the end of the seventeenth century. It has been thought to be the portrait of Edmund Meyricke, and may very possibly be so. (See above on p. 215.) But a theory has been recently

suggested that the picture represents Judge Jeffreys. This view is based on the supposed resemblance between it and undoubted portraits of Jeffreys. The resemblance is, however, by no means universally admitted, and there seems no particular reason why the College should have possessed a portrait of the Judge, though his signature as Lord Chancellor undoubtedly figures in more than one of the College documents in connection with Sir Leoline Jenkins' property.

5. On the North Wall a duplicate of the picture of Sir Leoline Jenkins already mentioned.

6. A picture of the Common Room painted about forty years ago and left to the College by the late Dr. Thomas Briscoe of Holyhead. Three figures appear in the picture—Principal Foulkes seated at the left of the fireplace; Dr. William Dyke, for many years Bursar, standing before the fire; and Dr. Briscoe himself seated in a corner of the room.

7. A small portrait by Holman Hunt of Canon Jenkins one of the Missionary Fellows who went out to Natal under Bishop Colenso. This picture was left to the College in 1893 by Mrs. Coombes.

IN THE DINING ROOM:

A portrait of Queen Elizabeth on boards in an oval frame, reputed to be an original and attributed to Zuccherò.

Probably the picture has been cut, and may even originally have been a full-length portrait.

IN THE PRINCIPAL'S LODGINGS:

1. A three-quarter length portrait of Sir Eubule Thelwall seated in a chair with hat and Jacobean ruff. In his hand is a roll of paper inscribed "A plan of the Chapell in Jesu Coll. Oxford, built by Sir Eubule Thelwall." The picture is a copy of one by Parry now in Bathafarn Park, Derbyshire.

2. A half-length portrait of Dr. Francis Mansell in Doctor's robes with a Prayer-book in his hand.

3. A half-length portrait of Bishop Westphaling in episcopal robes with an open MS. in his hands.

4. A half-length portrait of Sir James Perrot.

5. A portrait of Lady Margaret of Richmond, mother of Henry Tudor.

6. A portrait of Viscount Bulkeley, who entered the College as a Fellow-Commoner in 1769 "*qui vir egregius vas argenteum pretiosum donavit, capellam pulcherrima tabula ornavit et bibliothecam libris locupletavit.*"

§ 2. THE COLLEGE PLATE.

It has already been mentioned that at the beginning of the Civil War the College gave up all its plate to King Charles, and only a very few pint and half-pint pots are earlier than the Restoration, while even these have most of them been remade.

Among the earliest pieces of plate are two small silver salvers "*ex dono Ludovici Wogan,*" dated 1662, but converted, I believe, out of "one large Pott," which was the original gift of Lewis Wogan.

The practice of converting pieces of plate, *e.g.*, tankards, into spoons and sauce-boats, and retaining the original dates, makes it in some cases difficult to identify all the plate mentioned in old College lists: *e.g.*, a large bowl (69 ozs.) was given by Sir Edward Stradling, High Table Commoner in 1660, but no longer exists. On the other hand, the College possesses a set of castors (46 ozs.) which the inscription says were given by Sir Edward Stradling in 1660, and I have no doubt that the bowl was converted into this and probably several other smaller things. Similarly, a large two-handled pot (70 ozs.)—an ox eye—given by John Aubrey in 1669, was certainly converted into spoons and salt ladles; a fate which also befell a tankard given in 1688 by John Williams, younger son of Sir William Williams, of Glascod, Denbighshire, and probably another still larger tankard given by Owen Salesbury in 1683. Another tankard given by Charles Lloyd was converted into a pair of candlesticks, now in the Principal's Lodgings. Two of these earlier gifts of plate have fortunately retained their original form, *viz.*, a very handsome large two-handled cup and cover (111 ozs.), given in 1685 by Thomas Mansell, eldest son of Sir Edward Mansell, of Margam; and a large double-gilt tankard, given in 1686 by Sir Edward Sebright, of Besford, Worcestershire. Another member of the same family, Sir Thomas Saunders Sebright, gave a similar tankard in 1710, and these two are still used occasionally for passing round the loving cup. Another large tankard, given in 1701 by Sir John Aubrey, of Llantrythyd, is used in the Principal's Lodgings, as well as a large silver salver given by his son in 1727.

Among the other pieces of plate may be mentioned a very handsome bread-basket, given by Ellis Young in 1762; a large silver punch-bowl (77 ozs.), given by William Robinson in 1732; a soup tureen (118 ozs.), given by Viscount Bulkeley in 1777, and two two-handled cups and covers of chased silver, one given in 1746 by J. R. Lytton (95 ozs.), and the other in 1802 by John Symmons (128 ozs.). In 1861 Principal Charles Williams gave two very large silver salvers (151 ozs. and 121 ozs.). But by far the best known piece of plate is the gigantic punch-bowl given to the College in 1732 by Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, of Wynnstay, in Denbighshire, sometime a Fellow-Commoner of the College. The bowl is of double gilt, and weighs 278 ozs. In these degenerate days the bowl seldom performs its proper function, but it is a familiar figure in College festivities, and has before now been known to do duty as a font in the Chapel. There is a tradition in the College that whoever can fairly span the bowl at its widest part with his arms acquires the right of having it filled with punch—whether at his own expense or the College's is not specified—and then, if he can perform the second feat of draining the bowl, he may walk away with it, *i.e.*, presumably, if he can walk at all.

The history of the two silver candlesticks on the Altar in the Chapel is given in the following extract from the Book of Benefactors: "The Right Honourable Benjamin Parry, Privy Councillor and Registrar of Deeds in Ireland, bequeathed £40 to purchase a piece of plate for the Altar, mentioning in his will that this legacy is in gratitude for the kind reception and treatment his uncles (both of whom were afterwards Bishops

in Ireland) met with in this College during the troubles in Ireland. With which money, and £18 given by Dr. Pardo, a large pair of silver candlesticks were purchased for the Altar." (For John and Benjamin Parry, see p. 124.)

§ 3. THE MUNIMENT ROOM.

The Muniment Room, from the documents in which any larger history of the College will in the future have mainly to be compiled, is entered by a door leading out of the Common Room. Anthony Wood in his time made some investigation of its contents, and, as a number of Folios prove, several members of the College, including Principal Harper, and ending with the author of this little history, have made a more or less thorough examination of its contents, but no doubt more material may still remain unearthed. The Room is divided into two compartments by an iron door. In the outer one are shelves containing the Buttery Books, nearly complete from 1660 to 1800; the Bursar's Annual Computi, in about half a dozen volumes, from 1631 up to the present time, with an unfortunate gap between 1648 and 1660; the College Registers from 1660, containing, however, very little till the present century except the elections to Scholarships and Fellowships; several volumes containing the names of the Benefactors of the College, and the Account Books of Sir Leoline Jenkins' Endowment, which up to the Second Commission was kept separate from the Domus accounts. The inner compartment contains on shelves or in boxes the multitude of wills, title-deeds, indentures, &c., relating to the College lands and other possessions. Each shelf

and each box is carefully labelled, but the inquirer soon finds that this appearance of order is not entirely to be relied upon. The most valuable documents are preserved in a large iron-bound chest, probably instituted by Principal Griffith Powell, and accessible only by means of three keys, of which the most ponderous is in the custody of the Principal, the others of two of the Fellows other than the Bursar. The principal documents in this chest are the following:

The first Letters Patent of 1571.

The second Letters Patent of 1589.

The Letters Patent of James I., 1621.

The original Statutes signed by the Commissioners (1622).

An early Register (*Liber Collegii Jesu*), containing elections and other College documents from 1602 to 1630.

A MS. account of the state of the College as regards its money affairs and the attempts made to obtain Statutes drawn up by Griffith Powell before his election to the Principalship.

The Inventory of all the College Property, including the books in the Library, drawn up by Dr. Mansell after his expulsion in 1648.

The Will of Sir Leoline Jenkins.

The Indenture with regard to Fellowship and Scholarships made between his executors and the Principal and Fellows in 1686.

The Letter of Charles II. to the Bailiff and Commonalty of Bergavenny with regard to the Improprate Rectory of Bedgeworth.

§ 4. THE CHAPEL.

The Chapel was built in 1620, enlarged up to its present east end in 1636, renovated, at any rate in its chancel, soon after 1700, restored as to the whole of its interior in 1864, and repaired on its southern side in 1880. The doorway with its motto, "Ascendat Oratio, descendat Gratia," was originally further to the east. Previous to 1864 it was fitted with the original Jacobean woodwork, of character similar to the present fine screen separating the Chapel from the ante-Chapel. This was replaced at that date with the present seats, while the chancel was entirely re-decorated. The chancel arch was widened, and the two monuments of Sir Eubule Thelwall and Dr. Mansell, which used to be on the two sides of it, were relegated to the northern wall of the chancel. At the same time the fine copy of Guido's famous picture of St. Michael and the Dragon was removed from in front of the east window, where it had served as an altar-piece, and hung on the west wall of the ante-Chapel, from where it will now have to be moved to the southern wall of the chancel to make room for the new organ. The chapel contains three painted windows in addition to the east window, one on the south side by Clayton and Bell in memory of Principal Charles Williams, another, by Westlake and Laver, opposite to it on the north side, in memory of Samuel Morris, who went down with the *Eurydice*, and a third on the north side, by Kemp, recently put up by his friends in memory of Llewelyn Thomas. There are monuments to Sir Eubule Thelwall, Francis Mansell, Sir Leoline Jenkins, William Jones, Jonathan Edwards,

Thomas Pardo, Joseph Hoare, Henry Foulkes, Charles Williams, all Principals of the College, and a brass to Principal Harper.

§ 5. THE LIBRARY.

The MSS. belonging to the College are fairly numerous, and some of great interest and value. They are now transferred from the College Library to the Bodleian for greater security and convenience of reference. The nucleus of the collection of MSS. was the munificent gift of Sir John Prise, of Portham, in Herefordshire, who presented about fifty volumes of MSS. before the College had any Library to place them in. A list of the Prise MSS. is to be found in the earliest College Register. Among them may be noted *St. Augustine's Commentaries on the Psalms*, a MS. of the twelfth century. A MS. of the eleventh century, containing, among other things, *Athanasius de Unitate Trinitatis*. Bede's *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum* (eleventh century); Bede's *Commentary on Samuel I.* (twelfth century). A MS. of the twelfth century, formerly belonging to the Priory Church of St. Mary of Cirencester, containing various works of Bede: *The Meditations of St. Anselm*, *St. Bernard*, *St. Augustine*, &c. (fifteenth century). A MS. of the eleventh century, containing *Gregorii Nazianzeni Opuscula*, &c. *Ivonis, Carnotensis episcopi, Panormia* (twelfth century). *Hegesippus de excidio Judaeorum* (twelfth century). An early thirteenth-century MS. of Orosius, formerly belonging to the Priory Church of St. Mary of Cirencester. Of the MSS. subsequently bestowed upon the College, the following are the most noteworthy:

A fifteenth-century *Chronicum abbreviatum ab Adam*

usque ad an. Edwardi IV. tertium (1468), written in 1468 and 1476 by Thomas Haselden: "ex dono Thomae Wilkins."

Ancient accounts of Salisbury Cathedral, forming originally the outer leaves of a MS. entitled *Sermones Dominicales*. This MS. was given in 1632 by the Rev. William Price, Rector of Penhouse, Monmouthshire.

Vita Sancti Albani ex lingua Anglica in Latinam translata per Gulielmum Albanensem monachum anno 1170. This MS. was transcribed in the seventeenth century by Augustine Baker, and contains other material, much of it relating to St. Alban's Abbey. Two other MSS., also transcribed by Augustine Baker, contain a number of miscellaneous papers, many of them illustrating the time of Henry VIII.

A History of Henry VIII., in three volumes, by Lord Herbert, of Cherbury—the original draft, with the author's corrections and additions.

A seventeenth century MS. entitled *Valor ecclesiasticus sive registrum valoris rectorum vicariarumque per Angliam Walliamque*. This was given to the College in 1674 by Dr. Hugo Wynne, Fellow of All Souls.

Contemporary papers relating to Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, to which is added Sir Walter Raleigh's Apology and an account of his execution, with his speech upon the scaffold.

A copy of the Koran, sent from Aleppo in 1730, and presented to Jesus College by Mr. David Jones, Rector of Great Hardres, and Master of the King's School, Canterbury.

A fifteenth-century MS. of Tacitus, Ann. xi.-xvi. and Hist. i-v.; "ex dono Edwardi Hopkins."

An Illuminated Psalter, presented by Sir John Conway.

The Chronicles of England, from Albyon to the surrender of Rouen, 5 Henr. V., commonly called the "Brute Chronicles" (fifteenth century).

A MS. of about the time of Edward IV., entitled *Disce Mori, a theological work of practical divinitie, after the manner of Wickliffe's Poor Catiff*; presented by Sir James Perrot in 1633.

A collection relating to the Cathedral Church of Bangor, communicated by different hands to Browne Willis, the antiquary, and by him presented to the College in 1728.

Regulae Generales Scholae Westmon.; the first three rules being these: 1° Cogita; 2° Loquere vere clare Latine; 3° Propere ad Scholam, occupa locum, tene linguam.

The Arms and Pedigrees of y^e Nobility of England in y^e beginning of y^e reign of King James I.

Arms and Pedigrees of 216 Baronets of England (male and female) for three descents.

Liber Landavensis sive historia de fundatione ecclesiae ibidem, &c.; "ex dono reverendi admodum viri domini Jonathan Edwards."

Among the numerous Welsh MSS. in the Library the following may be noticed:

The Elucidarium and other tracts in Welsh, dated 1346, published by Jones and Rhys in the *Anecdota Oxoniensis*, 1894.

A MS. of the sixteenth century, presented in 1680 by Griffin Lloyd, containing a collection of Welsh Poems by different bards, whose names, and in some

cases their dates, are affixed to their several pieces. The poems are numbered from 1 to 544 inclusive.

A MS. of the fifteenth century, given by Roger Langford, *Grammatica Cambro-Britannica auctore Davydd Ddu, partim per quaestionem et responsum.*

A MS. entitled *Lexicon Cambro-Britannico-Latinum: subjuncta hic illic interpretatione Anglicana.* In the beginning there is a note to this effect: "In Dr. Pughe's opinion this is Dr. Davies's draught of his *Lexicon*: J. Blackwell."

A seventeenth-century MS. in Welsh, entitled *Gualteri: archidiaconi Oxoniensis, Historia Britonum*, being a copy from an old codex made in 1645 by Hugo Jones, as a note by E. Llwyd explains.

A MS. of Welsh poems by Dafydd Benwyn.

But by far the most important of the Welsh MSS. is the famous Red Book of Hergest, so called from its red binding, presented to the College by Mr. Thomas Wilkins in 1701. The contents of this MS., which probably belongs to the fifteenth century, written in several hands, and is entitled *Llyfr Côch o Hergest*, are arranged under 42 headings, of which only a few specimens can be given:

1. *The Mabinogion* and a group of Arthurian Romances.

3. *Bruty Tywysogion*: The history of the Princes of Wales, with remarkable events, from 680 to 1280.

11. *Cynghor y Doeth i'w Fâb*: a father's advice to his son on husbandry, economy, &c.

16. *Gwasgarddgerdd Myrddin yn ei fedd*: Merlin's *ultimum vale*, containing predictions, &c.

21. *Trioedd Ynys Brydain*, or the Welsh "Historical" Triads.

39. Welsh proverbs in alphabetical order.

Of the other books in the Library it is impossible in these pages to give any account, though they would well repay a thorough examination. The principal benefactors to the Library have been Lord Herbert of Cherbury, the gift of whose collection of books to the College has been mentioned on p. 112. Of his library there is a complete list in Dr. Mansell's Inventory: Dr. Mansell himself, who, as mentioned on p. 112, gave his entire library to the College, the list of these also being contained in his Inventory: Sir Thomas Middleton, Lady Maria Cockayne, the widow of Sir William Cockayne and Principal Jonathan Edwards. The Library is rich in theological works and editions of the Fathers. There is a *Magna Bibliotheca Patrum* in 12 vols., 1618; and a *Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum* in 27 vols., 1677. A copy of *Binii Concilia* in 4 vols., 1606. *The Works of Thomas Aquinas*, in 14 vols., 1512, and of *Franciscus Suarez* in 14 vols., both the gifts of Lady Cockayne; Spelman's *Concilia Magnae Britanniae*, presented by Sir Leoline Jenkins. Another interesting book is Cranmer's *Answer unto a Craftie and Sophisticall Cavillation, devised by Stephen Gardiner, late Byshop of Winchester*, 1580, "ex dono Guil. Upton, fabri ferrarii, Oxon, April 2, 1658."

Of Welsh Bibles there are three, dated 1620, 1690 and 1789. The *Works of Martin Luther*—Witeburgae excudebat Laurentius Schuenck, 1561—and of *Calvin* printed at Geneva in 1617, were presented by Rowland Heylin—"civis et senator Londinensis."

§ 6. ATHLETICS.

ROWING.

Up to 1836 such accounts as I have been able to get of Jesus rowing are of a somewhat legendary character, but they seem to show that a good deal of interest was taken by the College in matters aquatic. I take the following statements as to this early period from an article by Mr. C. C. Knollys—a well-known Magdalen sculler and oarsman—in the Special Eights' Number of the *Oxford Magazine* for 1885. Before the institution of regular races crews belonging to different Colleges were in the habit of rowing down to Sandford and spurting together on their way back, the final spurt being from Iffley Lock. Brasenose and Jesus are especially mentioned as indulging in this species of rivalry, and a succession of races took place between them, in which Brasenose was usually the victor. The first definite College races are said to have taken place in 1815, when Brasenose and Jesus were apparently the first two—perhaps the only—boats. In 1822 there was again a race between the same two Colleges for the headship of the river, and in consequence of a dispute the race was rowed over again, Brasenose apparently being the winners.

During the following years there is no notice of the Jesus boat, but in 1826, when the second race against Cambridge took place, W. G. Thomson of Jesus rowed seven, while another Jesus man, E. W. G. Davies, was cox. In 1837 begin the Charts of the Eight-oar Races, and in this year Jesus started second, Christ Church being head boat. After being bumped on the first three

nights by Exeter, Balliol, and Queens', Jesus took off—no unusual practice in those days—and accordingly in 1838 rowed last, apparently only for one night. Between 1839 and 1844 the College had no boat on. In the latter year it started last, and through other boats taking off made several places, but does not appear again in the Chart till 1847, when it made several bumps and ended seventh, a position which it kept in 1848. In 1849 it went down six places; 1851 was a more successful year and the boat went up four places, ending eleventh. In the following year its fortunes were varied, and it reached the ninth place in 1854, only to lose it on the following night. In 1859 it performed the feat of going up three places in one night, bumping the Ch. II., over C.C.C. and Worcester, who started immediately above Jesus. Too much success, however, seems to have demoralised the crew, for it subsequently went down three places, and had no boat in 1860. From 1861 to 1863 the boat was not far from the bottom, a position which it safely reached in 1864. From that time onwards the boating record of the College has not been good. In many years it had no boat on at all, and seldom rose more than one or two places above the last. Still it has at least had a boat every year since 1882, and in 1894 it began to rise, making three bumps in that year, two in 1895, and four in 1896. In this year, indeed, it had the reputation of being one of the fastest boats, and later on entered for the Ladies' Cup at Henley. It was not successful in winning the cup, having the bad fortune to be drawn against Eton, but the crew showed itself to be a thoroughly good one and deserves to be handed down to posterity as having

deserved well of its College. It was composed as follows :

Bow, P. C. Gane.

2, E. L. Sandbach.

3, E. Costley-White.

4, J. D. Salmon.

5, A. S. Jeremiah.

6, J. W. Lewis.

7, C. L. Ryley.

Stroke, E. J. W. Aston.

Cox., H. van Couten.

CRICKET.

Considering its size the College has had very fair success at Cricket, and has held its own against the other Colleges. Its most prominent cricketers have been C. P. Lewis of Llandovery, a fast bowler who played against Cambridge in 1876; G. E. Robinson, a fast left-hand bowler who appeared at Lords in 1881-2; C. A. W. Gilbert, who played for Shropshire between 1880-1890; and R. W. Rice, a good bat, who played against Cambridge in 1893, and has since made consistently good averages for Gloucestershire.

RUNNING, ETC.

The following Jesus men obtained their Blues on the running ground :

W. Haines ran in the three miles against Cambridge in 1870 and 1871, being unplaced on both occasions.

F. H. Woods, afterwards Fellow of St. Johns', won the high jump in the Oxford University Sports

(5 ft. 5½ in.) in 1871, and represented the University against Cambridge in 1871-72-73.

J. H. Silvan-Evans put the weight against Cambridge in 1872.

A. Goodwin, President of the O.U.A.C. in 1878, was third in the mile against Cambridge in 1875, and won the three miles in 1876-77, and the four-mile Championship of England (21 min. 16 sec.) in 1876.

C. P. Lewis threw the hammer against Cambridge in 1876.

C. A. W. Gilbert was second in the hurdles at the Oxford University Sports in 1879; second in the hurdles against Cambridge in 1880.

A. H. Jones ran in the three miles against Cambridge in 1880.

A. M. Evanson was second in putting the weight (33 ft. 3¼ in.) at the Inter-University Sports in 1880; first in 1882 (35 ft. 11 in.).

C. R. Thomas won the 100 yards at Oxford University Sports (10 sec.) in 1897, and ran a dead heat against F. L. Carter, of Cambridge, in the same year. He won the 100 yards against Cambridge in 1898 (10½ sec.), and in 1899 having again in the Oxford Sports accomplished the distance in 10 sec., a time passed by the Amateur Athletic Association in May 1898, as British Amateur record.

FOOTBALL.

Wales has always been enthusiastic for Rugby Football, and Jesus has, perhaps, been more successful in this department of athletics than in any other. Among the most famous Rugby Footballers who have been at

the College and have obtained their Blues against Cambridge are the following :

H. M. Evanson played three-quarter back in Vassal's "invincible team" representing the 'Varsity in 1880-81-82-83, and was one of the "great triumvirate"—Bolton, Evanson, and Wade—who played so often for England.

D. W. Evans played against Cambridge as forward in 1887 and 1888, and also for Wales against England, and against Scotland in 1891.

J. S. Longdon, at one time played three-quarter back regularly for Swansea, and occupied this position against Cambridge in 1889.

W. Rice Evans played against Cambridge among the forwards in 1890. He also played for Wales against England at Newport in 1891.

Conway-Rees, a very famous football player, captained the 'Varsity Team in 1893-4. He also played for Wales against Scotland in 1892, and against England in 1893 and 1894. One of the objects with which he was appointed Captain of the 'Varsity was the introduction of the Welsh four three-quarter system, with which he was familiar from his school football and his play with Welsh clubs. Instead of the three three-quarter backs, who were too far apart to pass the ball from one to another down the field, and whose function, therefore, was mainly defensive, the Welsh system, introduced into the 'Varsity by Conway-Rees, was to diminish the forwards by one, who was added to the three-quarters. These now became the chief offensive force, being "fed" from the half backs, who are supposed to gather the ball from the heels of the forwards. The three-quarters then pass it along with the greater com-

bination which their increased number admits of, with the result that the game is far more open and requires more skill.

C. L. Donaldson played against Cambridge in 1896, having become prominent by playing half-back for the Western Counties, and also for Newton Abbot. He has since played for the Torquay Athletic.

§ 7. CUSTOMS AND CURIOSITIES.

In 1622 Sir Thomas Canon left a rent-charge to the College, of which £5 was to be annually expended in the following ways: "For the increase of the diett of the Principall, Vice-Principall, Fellowes, Schollars and Students," £3 6s. 8d.; "for the prisoners in the Castle and Bocardo," 6s. 8d.; while 16s. 8d. was to be given yearly "to three and thirty poore people—viz., eightpence to the first and sixpence to everie of the rest, according to the number of the Principall, Fellowes and Schollars of the present establishment of the Colledge." This "increased diett" and the distribution was to be on the "Thursday next before the Acte," on which day "a sermon was to be preached by some one of the Divines of the Colledge, who is to be paid ten shillings, and the Communion of the Body and Blood of our blessed Saviour shall be then and there celebrated by the Principall and Vice-Principall and all the Fellowes, Schollars and Students of the said house, then being in the Universitie, as an Anniversarie Eucharist or Thanksgivinge to God for the said pious beneficence in ffoundinge and building uppe and furishinge the said Colledge and the endowment thereof." The annual dinner on the Thursday before the Act was kept up till, at any

rate, the time of the First Commission, and was revived for a few years afterwards by Principal Harper. It is now thought better to make it a dinner or Gaudy for old members of the College, who are invited in rotation. The Service in the Chapel has been discontinued since 1883.

The feast of St. David, falling on March 1, was often, as the account books show, but apparently not regularly, celebrated by some kind of festivity in the College; and up to quite recent years—I do not know whether it was a primæval institution—a green leek was attached to the tassel of the College cap of every member of the College on the morning of St. David's Day by his servant. With this appendage he was supposed to go to Chapel and to Lecture, while the more patriotic Welshmen would even display this mark of their nationality in the High. It is to be regretted that this custom has almost disappeared, entirely, I believe, among the Welsh members of the College, though a gallant attempt is from time to time made by some of the foreign element to revive it. When I was a Probation Fellow twenty-five years ago the custom was universal. Why should not the Welshmen re-introduce it?—I mean the real thing, and not the miniature leek in metal worn as a scarf-pin.

Another custom, not as far as I can discover a very ancient one, connected with the Welsh traditions of the College, is that of having a Welsh service in the Chapel twice a week. At one time a Welsh Reader was one of the regular College officers, whose duty it was not only to hold these services, but to give instruction in Welsh to those members of the College who desired it. Since the abolition of Tests, the members of the Welsh Church have perhaps ceased to be a majority in the

College, and partly owing to this, partly perhaps to the establishment of the Celtic Professorship, the office of Welsh Reader was not continued by the Second Commission. The services in the Chapel, however, were continued by Llewelyn Thomas till his death in 1897, as a labour of love, and since his death the College has taken the first opportunity of again providing for these services; but naturally their continuation must depend on how far they are appreciated by the Welsh members of the College. It has already been pointed out that at the present time there are over thirty who can and do speak the language.

Among the few curiosities possessed by the College may be mentioned an antique stirrup, kept in the show case in the Library, and said, on what authority I do not know, to have belonged to Queen Elizabeth; a watch, kept in the Principal's Lodgings, said to have belonged to King Charles I., and a signet ring attached to it containing a miniature of the King, once the property of Queen Henrietta Maria. A MS. copy of the Statutes beautifully written on vellum and presented to the College by William Parry, elected a Fellow of the College in 1714, is also preserved in the Library. In the same place is a curious frame, constructed of two upright pieces of wood connected by fourteen flat narrow pieces, on four of which are letters or words in ancient characters. The frame is called a Peithynnen, and was used in Wales in former times for telling fortunes by some manipulation of the cross pieces of wood. The form of the letters, I believe, points to the time of Owen Glyndwr. The Bursar's sword is still preserved in the Muniment Room.

APPENDICES

I.—LIST OF JESUS COLLEGE IN 157 $\frac{2}{3}$

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Floyd, Mr. (Griffin), Principalis. | 17. Lewes, junior. |
| 2. Wightman, Mr. | 18. Sturley. |
| 3. Price, Mr. | 19. Jones, junior. |
| 4. Pewe, Mr. | 20. Savacar (Edward). |
| 5. Pricharde, Sr., senior. | 21. Awbrey (Thomas), senior. |
| 6. Pricharde, Sr., junior. | 22. Awbrey (Charles), junior. |
| 7. Harbarde, Sr. | 23. Powell. |
| 8. Jankins, Sr. | 24. Hughes (Rethereche), |
| 9. Meredethe, Sr. | 25. Roberts. |
| 10. Phillips. | 26. Bagnall (Henry). |
| 11. Redy. | 27. Charnocke, Mr. |
| 12. Lewes, senior. | 28. Bagnall (Ambrose). |
| 13. Granger (Richard). | 29. Davies |
| 14. Morgans (Jenkin). | 30. Griffithe |
| 15. Jones (Rethereche), senior. | 31. Wmll the "coke" } famuli. |
| 16. Owens. | 32. Thomas, John, famulus
Wightman. |

II.—LIST OF PRINCIPALS

1. David Lewes, 1571-1572 (Monm.).
2. Griffith Lloyd, 1572-1586 (Cardig.).
3. Francis Bevans, 1586-1602 (Carm.).
4. John Williams, 1602-1613 (Carm.).
5. Griffith Powell, 1613-1620 (Carm.).
6. Francis Mansell, 1620-1621 (Carm.).
7. Sir Eubule Thelwall, 1621-1630 (Denbigh).
8. Francis Mansell, 1630-1648 (Carm.).
9. Michael Roberts, 1648-1657 (Angles.).

10. Francis Howell, 1657-1660 (Cornwall).
11. Francis Mansell, 1660-1661 (Carm.).
12. Sir Leoline Jenkins, 1661-1673 (Glamorg.).
13. John Lloyd, 1673-1686 (Carm.).
14. Jonathan Edwards, 1688-1712 (Denbigh).
15. John Wynne, 1712-1720 (Denbigh).
16. William Jones, 1720-1725 (Carm.).
17. Eubule Thelwall, 1725-1727 (Denbigh).
18. Thomas Pardo, 1727-1763 (Carm.).
19. Humphrey Owen, 1763-1768 (Montgom.).
20. Joseph Hoare, 1768-1802 (Glamorg.).
21. David Hughes, 1802-1817 (Denbigh).
22. Henry Foulkes, 1817-1858 (Denbigh).
23. Charles Williams, 1858-1877 (Glamorg.).
24. Daniel Hugo Harper, 1877-1895 (Glamorg.).
25. John Rhŷs, 1895 (Cardig.).

III.—LIST OF FELLOWS

1. Thomas Huyck, 1571-1575 (Wales).
2. John Cotterell, 1571-1575 (Wilts).
3. John Lloyd, 1571-1607 (Wales).
4. William Aubrey, 1571-1595 (Glamorg. ?).
5. Robert Lougher, 1571-1583 (Glamorg. ?).
6. Robert Johnson, 1571- ? (Lincoln).
7. Thomas Huet, 1571- ? (Wales).
8. John Higgenson, 1571- ? (England).
9. John Williams, 1589-1590 (Carm.).
10. Griffith Powell, 1589-1613 (Carm.).
11. Edward James, 1590- ? (Wales ?).
12. Thomas Lloyd, 1602- ? (Carm. ?).
13. Edward Adkins, 1602- ? (Carm.).
14. Evan Vaughan, 1602-1620 (Wales).
15. Richard Nannie, 1602-1620 (Merion.).
16. Thomas Prichard, 1615- ? (Pembr.).
17. Morgan Powell, 1615-1620 (Carm.).
18. John Madocks, 1615- ? (Glamorg.).
19. Thomas Price, 1621- ? (Merion.).
20. William Dolben, 1621- ? (Pemb.).
21. Maurice Meyrick, 1621- ? (Anglesea).
22. William Prichard, 1621- ? (Monm.).
23. Robert Lloyd, 1621-1637 (Denbigh).

24. Roger Phillips, 1623-? (Merion.).
25. Rowland Cheadle, 1623-1626 (Anglesey).
26. Roger Prichard, 1623-? (Pembr.).
27. Thomas Lloyd, 1623-1629 (?).
28. James Howell, sen., 1623-? (Breckn.).
29. James Howell, jun., 1623-1629 (Hereford).
30. Hugh Penry, 1623-? (Breckn.).
31. Henry Bould, 1623-1628 (Carn.).
32. John Littleton, 1624-1638 (Salop).
33. Michael Roberts, 1625-1627 (Anglesey).
34. Samuel Powell, 1625-1630 (Radnors.).
35. Richard Williams, 1625-1640 (Denbighs. ?).
36. Edmund Stradling, 1625-1641 (Glamorg.).
37. Oliver Maurice, 1626-1630 (?).
38. Walter Watkins, 1626-1636 (Monm.).
39. Roger Langford, 1626-1636 (Denbigh).
40. Richard Lloyd, sen., 1626-1634 (Denbigh ?).
41. John Ellis, 1628-1631 (Merion.).
42. Adam Holland, 1629-1630 (Salop).
43. James Birch, 1629-1644 (Middlesex).
44. John Lloyd, 1630-? (Denbigh ?).
45. Richard Lloyd, jun., 1631-1638 (?).
46. Thomas Powell, 1622-1640 (Brecons.).
47. Philip Flower, 1632-1648 (?).
48. Richard Morrice, 1632-1641 (?).
49. William Prichard, 1632-1638 (Monm.).
50. Robert Jones, 1634-1638 (Carm.).
51. William Thomas, 1635-? (Carm.).
52. Jonathan Edwards, 1636-1648 (Denbigh).
53. Richard Jones, 1637-? (Carm. ?).
54. Daniel Brevint, 1637-1648; 1660-1662 (Jersey).
55. Henry Vaughan, 1638-1648 (Merion.).
56. James Vaughan, 1628-1653; 1660-1662 (?).
57. Daniel Evans, 1638-1641 (Cardig.).
58. Richard Rolles, 1638-1643 (?).
59. Constantine Adams, 1639-1648 (England ?).
60. Rice Jones, 1639-1642 (Breckn.).
61. Henry Walter, 1640-1641 (Monm.).
62. Thomas Lewis, 1640-1648 (Carm.).
63. John Lewis, 1640-1648 (Denbigh).
64. Owen Wynn, 1640-1648; 1660-1662 (Denbigh).
65. William Lloyd, 1641-1648; 1660-1685 (Anglesey).

66. George Stradling, 1641-1642 (Glamorg.).
67. Theophilus Field, 1643-1648 (Monm.)
68. William Brabourne, 1644-1648; 1660-1667 (Monm.).
69. Humphrey Boulton, (1644- ? (Anglesey).
70. Arthur Tawke, 1648- ? (Hampshire).
71. — Browne, 1648- ? (England ?).
72. Jenkin Lloyd, 1648- ? (Cardig.).
73. Laurence Jones, 1648-1662 (?).
74. John Forward, 1648- ? (England ?).
75. Jonathan Roberts, 1648- ? (?).
76. Francis Wilcox, 1648- ? (England ?).
77. Henry Eyre, 1648-1651 (Wilts).
78. William Cox, 1648- ? (England ?).
79. Nicholas Pipon, 1648- ? (Jersey).
80. Thomas Ellis, 1649-1667 (Carn.).
81. Lewis Williams, 1650 ?- ? (Merion.).
82. John Parry, 1653 ?- ? (?).
83. Samuel Jones, 1653 ?- ? (Denbigh).
84. Hamlet Puleston, 1653 ?-1662 (Hants.).
85. Thomas Morgan, 1654-1661 (?).
86. Leoline Jenkins, 1660-1661 (Glamorg.).
87. William Foulkes, 1660-1667 (?).
88. Jenkin Christopher, 1660-1667 (?).
89. Edward Jeffreys, 1660-1676 (?).
90. Anthony Jones, 1660-1662 (?).
91. John Lloyd, 1661-1673 (Carm.).
92. William Rolles, 1660-1667 (Oxon.).
93. James Bowen, 1661-1669.
94. Jonathan Edwards, 1662-1686 (Denbighs.).
95. Francis Dubois, 1662-1674 (Guernsey).
96. Edmund Meyricke, 1662-1663 (Merion.).
97. Philip Roberts, 1662-1671 (Denbigh).
98. Hugh Steevens, 1662-1671 (Monm.).
99. James Davies, 1662-1670 (Radnors.).
100. Hugo Lewis, 1662-1672 (Radnors.).
101. Owen Davies, 1663-1672.
102. Thomas Franklyne, 1667-1682 (Cardig.).
103. John Maurice, 1667-1672 (Carn.).
104. John Jones, 1667-1678 (Glamorg.).
105. Thomas Huxley, 1667-1682 (Salop).
106. John Williams, 1670-1681 (Glamorg.).
107. Henry Maurice, 1670-1685 (Anglesey).

108. Richard Lucas, 1671-1684 (Radnors.).
109. James Jeffreys, 1671-1685 (Denbigh).
110. Thomas Smith, 1672-1681 (Denbigh).
111. William Edwards, 1672-1678 (Glamorg.).
112. Humphry Humphreys, 1672-1680 (Merion.)
113. Peter Wynne, 1672-1682 (Denbigh).
114. Walter Howell, 1673-1696 (Carm.).
115. Thomas Lloyd, 1673, died same year (Carm.).
116. Nicholas le Mesurier, 1674-1676 (Guernsey).
117. Griffin Lloyd, 1677-1685 (Carn.).
118. Robert Thomas, 1677-1685 (Glamorg.).
119. Thomas Tremallier, 1677-1713 (Guernsey).
120. Edward Powell, 1681-1685 (Salop).
121. John Jenkins, 1681-1689 (Glamorg.).
122. Robert Wynne, 1681-1691 (Carn.).
123. Benjamin Jones, 1681-1682 (Breckn.).
123. William Lloyd, 1682-1691 (Carm.).
125. Timothy Huxley, 1682-1698 (Salop).
126. John Spencer, 1683-1689 (Hereford).
127. Roger Lloyd, 1683-1691 (Anglesey).
128. Walter Roberts, 1684-1694 (Abergavenny).
129. Kenrick Puleston, 1686-1699 (Denbigh).
130. Michael Rossendale, 1686-1692 (Denbigh).
131. George Jones, 1687-1697 (Anglesey).
132. John Wynne, 1687-1712 (Denbigh).
133. James Harris, 1687-1698 (Monm.).
134. David Evans, 1687, died same year (Montgom.).
135. Maurice Jones, 1689-1698 (Denbigh).
136. Alexander Forde, 1688-1709 (Pemb.).
137. Luke Williams, 1689-1711 (Carm.).
138. Griffin Davies, 1689-1699 (Carm.).
139. John Davies, 1691-1709 (Anglesey).
140. David Gwynne, 1691-1713 (Carm.).
141. Ellis Anwyl, 1692-1695 (Carn.).
142. William Wynne, 1692-1704 (Carn.).
143. William Goodwin, 1694-1707 (Abergavenny).
144. Benjamin Howell, 1696-1715 (Carm.).
145. Kenrick Eyton, 1696-1703 (Merioneth).
146. Rice Thomas, 1698-1704 (Monm.).
147. John Ellis, 1698-1713 (Carn.).
148. John Brickdall, 1698-1716 (Denbigh).
149. Thomas Meredith, 1699-1713 (Denbigh).

150. John Davies, 1699-1714 (Herefds.).
151. William Jones, 1699-1717 (Carm.).
152. Robert Powell, 1702-1707 (Glamorg.).
153. Henry Nicholls, 1702-1751 (Glamorg.).
154. Eubule Thelwall, 1703-1725 (Denbigh).
155. Edward Wynne, 1703-1711 (Denbigh).
156. James Harcourt, 1704-1714 (Breckn.).
157. John Jones, 1704-1717 (Carn.).
158. Henry Meese, 1707-1718 (Abergavenny).
159. Henry Harries, 1707-1730 (Monmouth).
160. Griffith Gunnis, 1708-1725 (Carn.).
161. Edward Hughes, 1710-1722 (Breckn.).
162. Thomas Pardo, 1711-1727 (Carm.).
163. Humphry Lloyd, 1711-1726 (Denbigh).
164. Samuel Presland, 1712-1729 (Salop).
165. Peter Maurice, 1713-1720 (Denbigh).
166. John le Mesurier, 1713-1717 (Guernsey).
167. Robert Brynker, 1713-1729 (Carn.).
168. David Scurlock, 1714-1723 (Carm.).
169. Morgan Leyson, 1714-1728 (Glamorg.).
170. Evan Lloyd, 1714-1728 (Cardig.).
171. William Parry, 1714-1727 (Herefd.).
172. Thomas Price, 1716-1724 (Merion.).
173. John Wynne, 1718-1725 (Merion.).
174. Richard Roberts, 1715-1730 (Abergavenny).
175. Richard Davies, 1718-1725 (Carm.).
176. Daniel Durel, 1718-1722 (Jersey).
177. James Brynker, 1726-1734 (Carn.).
178. Edward Jones, 1722-1747 (Carm.).
179. Francis Payne, 1722-1730 (Jersey).
180. John Laugharne, 1724-1739 (Carm.).
181. Edward Puleston, 1724-1731 (Denbigh).
182. Thomas Williams, 1725-1736 (Carm.).
183. Henry Edmonds, 1725-1727 (Carn.).
184. Humphry Owen, 1726-1745 (Montgom.).
185. John Lloyd, 1727-1744 (Montgom.).
186. James Apperley, 1727-1735 (Hereford).
187. George Stokes, 1727-1734 (Pemb.).
188. John Price, 1728-1746 (Denbigh).
189. Edmund Meyrick, 1728-1740 (Montgom.).
190. Robert Owen, 1728-1735 (Anglesey).
191. William Bradshaw, 1729-1741 (Monm.).

192. Christopher Wells, 1729-1752 (Glamorg.).
193. David Price, 1729-1752 (Carm.).
194. James le Marchant, 1730-1754 (Guernsey).
195. Nehemiah Hopkins, 1730-1744 (Glamorg.).
196. Luke Cockerell, 1731-1742 (Abergavenny).
197. Thomas Ellis, 1731-1761 (Flints.).
198. Joseph Hoare, 1734-1762 (Glamorg.).
199. Peter Ellice, 1774-1762 (Denbigh).
200. Anthony Apperley, 1735-1740 (Hereford).
201. John Edwards, 1735-1767 (Flints.).
202. Thomas Morgan, 1756-1767 (Carm.).
203. James Williams, 1739-1770 (Carm.).
204. William Lewis, 1740-1747 (Anglesey).
205. Uvedale Kyffin, 1740-1764 (Hereford).
206. Thomas Williams, 1741-1767 (Glamorg.).
207. Andrew James, 1742-1751 (Abergavenny).
208. William Davies, 1744-1751 (Glamorg.).
209. Jones Read, 1744-1765 (Montgom.).
210. Edmund Roberts, 1745-1752 (Denbigh).
211. John Jones, 1746-1796 (Denbigh).
212. Edward Edwards, 1747-1783 (Merioneths.).
213. Thomas Jones, 1747-1758 (Glamorg.).
214. Richard Langford, 1747-1773 (Anglesey).
215. Adam Thomas, 1751-1771 (Abergavenny).
216. Henry Lewis, 1761-1763 (Glamorg.).
217. Morgan Morgans, 1751-1766 (Glamorg.).
218. David Hopkins, 1762-1765 (Monm.).
219. Benjamin Havard, 1752-1765 (Carm.).
220. Robert Roberts, 1752-1774 (Denbigh).
221. James Bandinel, 1754-1776 (Jersey).
222. Thomas Williams, 1758-1765 (Glamorg.).
223. Richard Edwards, 1761-1767 (Denbigh).
224. Edward Thomas, 1762-1778 (Glamorg.).
225. John Williams, 1762-1770 (Anglesey).
226. Richard Evans, 1763-1780 (Glamorg.).
227. Edward Carne, 1764-1786 (Berks.).
228. Iltud Nicholl, 1765-1780 (Glamorg.).
229. John Lloyd, 1765-1773 (Carm.).
230. William Seys, 1765-1771 (Monm.).
231. William Morgan, 1766-1785 (Breckn.).
232. Hugh Hughes, 1767-1790 (Anglesey).
233. John Williams. 767-1792 (Carn.),

234. Benjamin Hall, 1767-1777 (Pemb.).
235. Robert Jones, 1768-1783 (Denbigh).
236. Arnold Jenkins, 1770-1788 (Carm.).
237. Edward Jones, 1770-1822 (Anglesey).
238. John Nicholl, 1771-1783 (Glamorg.).
239. William Hurdman Jones, 1771-1802 (Abergavenny).
240. Thomas Hopkins, 1773-1789 (Glamorg.).
241. John Jones, 1773-1791 (Denbigh).
242. David Hughes, 1774-1802 (Denbigh).
243. Nicholas Dobrée, 1776-1789 (Guernsey).
244. Edmund Sandford, 1777-1793 (Pemb.).
245. Richard Jones, 1778-1785 (Monm.).
246. Morgan Deere, 1780-1783 (Glamorg.).
247. Edward Morgan, 1780-1797 (Glamorg.).
248. Hugh Hughes, 1785, resigned same year (Denbigh).
249. James Jane, 1783-1798 (Monm.).
250. John Walters, 1783-1785 (Glamorg.).
251. John Williams, 1783—? (Carn.).
252. Francis Lloyd, 1784-1792 (Pemb.).
253. John George, 1785-1800 (Monm.).
254. Henry Llewellyn, 1785-1800 (Glamorg.).
255. William Price, 1785-1790 (Glamorg.).
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